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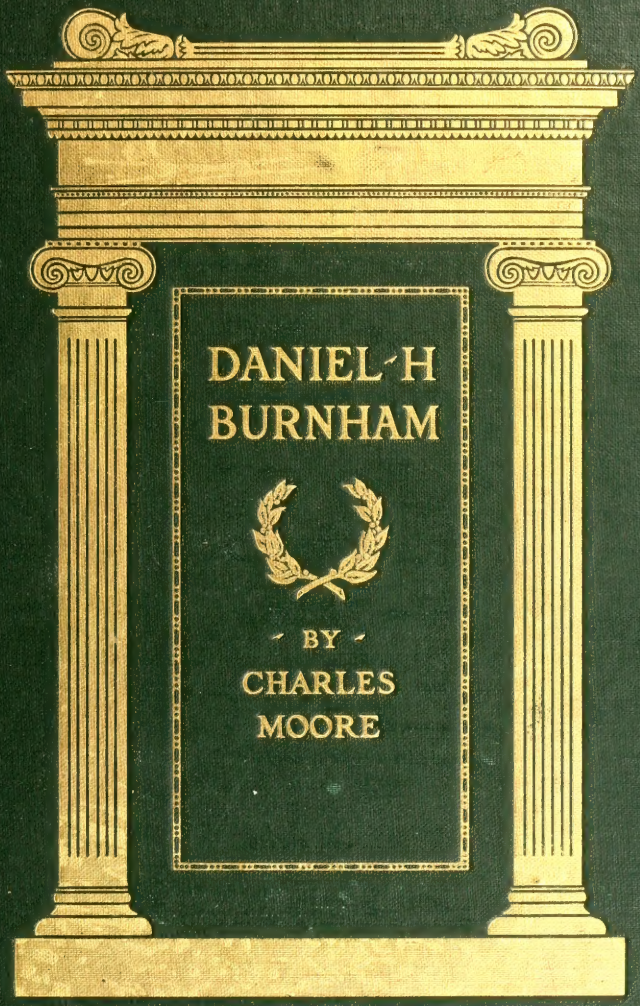

DANIEL H BURNHAM

BY

CHARLES MOORE

DANIEL H. BURNHAM

ARCHITECT

PLANNER OF CITIES

DANIEL H. BURNHAM
About 1910

DANIEL H. BURNHAM
ARCHITECT
PLANNER OF CITIES

BY

CHARLES MOORE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME TWO

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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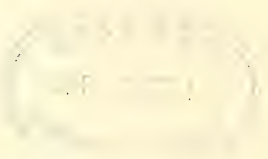

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DANIEL H. BURNHAM

CHAPTER XVIII

EUROPE AGAIN—THE SAN FRANCISCO PLAN—WASHINGTON PROBLEMS

1906

ON January 17, 1906, Mr. Burnham attended a meeting of the Commercial Club called to take action on the death of Marshall Field, which had occurred in New York on the previous day. On the 20th, he embarked on the steamship Amerika, in company with Mrs. Burnham and Mr. and Mrs. Wells. On the ship were his friends the Edward Ayers, the Martin Ryersons, the Charles L. Hutchinsons, the Wheelers, Victor Lawson, William Mather, and Chauncey Blair. The entire Chicago party occupied a table together during the voyage; and the first night all drank Mrs. Burnham's health by way of commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Burnham wedding.

Visits were made to Exeter, Wells, Salisbury, and Winchester. While in London Mr. Burnham renewed acquaintance with Hampton Court and Bushy Park, recalling the visit of 1901 with McKim, Olmsted, and Moore. The first half of February was spent in and around Paris; and on the 18th, Mr. and Mrs. Burnham and Mrs. Wells arrived in Florence. There they arranged for an automobile for three weeks, at a cost of 1800 francs, exclusive of oil and petrol and the expenses of the chauffeur outside of the city. Deep snow stopped them short on the way to Vallombrosa, but they made Siena, Fiesole, Lucca, and on the 11th of

March started from Siena by automobile for Venice, by way of Fienza, Ravenna, and Padua, arriving the next day in time for a gondola ride in the afternoon. After two weeks of mingled rain and sunshine in Venice, the Burnhams turned their faces north, returning to Paris by way of Milan. Victor Lawson had turned up in Venice and the Hutchinsons and Ryersons appeared in Paris. There was a glorious day at Vaux-le-Vicomte and a motor trip to Rheims. On April 18 when returning from Rouen, Burnham received a wire from Ernest Graham saying, "Come at once." The next night at ten o'clock they boarded the Deutschland at Dover for the return voyage.

The San Francisco report[1] was presented to the Committee of Forty, on the morning of May 21; then, after a luncheon at Willis Polk's house, Mr. Burnham and Mr. Bennett met the Mayor and Supervisors, who passed an ordinance in favor of the Plan. The celebrating dinner that night was given at the Cosmos Club, with James D. Phelan at the head of the table.

Senator Phelan has summed up the results of Mr. Burnham's San Francisco work in this wise:[2]

I was associated with Mr. Burnham in the making of the San Francisco Plan. I was at that time Chairman of an Association for the Adornment of San Francisco. We raised $18,000

[1] Report on a plan for San Francisco by Daniel H. Burnham assisted by Edward H. Bennett. Presented to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors by the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco. Edited by Edward F. O'Day. September, MCMV. Published by the City. The books were ready for distribution when the fire came, but were not delivered. Thus the Plan has never had a proper presentation to the public and is comparatively little known. It should be reprinted and put into circulation.

[2] Letter to Charles Moore, dated February 26, 1918. James Duval Phelan is a native of San Francisco. He was vice-president of the World's Columbian Commission of 1893; was thrice mayor of San Francisco, 1897–1902; and United States Senator, 1915–21.

THE GOLDEN GATE, SAN FRANCISCO

by subscription, as I recollect, for draughtsmen's service and incidental expenses. Burnham gave his own services without compensation and took a delight in his work. His plan was fine and comprehensive as well as workable. The destruction of San Francisco by fire in 1906 temporarily threw the people on their immediate resources, and as their resources were slender and their business condition precarious they dropped the ideal plan in order to house themselves and rehabilitate their affairs. It was the worst time to talk about beautification. The people were thrown back to a consideration as to how again they would live and thrive.

Burnham revisited San Francisco and made a good impression and helped to check this recession from the artistic. As a result of his educational influence and the Plan, we now have a beautiful civic centre, inferior in site to the one he laid out, but only two blocks removed from it. I believe that the existence of this fine civic centre as it is to-day, flanked by city hall, auditorium, and library, is due to him, as is also the parkway connecting Golden Gate Park and the Presidio. As time goes on, his various suggestions, as embodied in the Plan, will I believe be adopted.

On the occasion of his first visit, as a compliment to him we undertook to raise a fund for the American Academy in Rome of which he was a trustee, and as I recollect at the time of the fire we had collected about $20,000. He advised that it be returned to the donors, in which advice Mr. McKim joined him, because of the immediate necessity imposed upon the contributors to look out for themselves.

San Francisco has risen from her ashes, and I believe the next generation will take up the work of artistic betterment under the inspiration of Mr. Burnham's leadership, because he has joined the company of those great names who "still rule us from their graves."

Mr. Burnham was a practical idealist. He had breadth of vision and in his bigness of soul rose superior to obstacles. He disregarded time and distance and labored just as hard for the accomplishment of great objects which he knew in the nature

of things he would never live to enjoy. There seemed to be nothing sordid about him at all.

Willis Polk, who was associated with the making of the San Francisco Plan, and whose steadfast endeavors have been exerted to keep the plan in the minds of the people of that city, writes:

The so-called Burnham Plan of San Francisco was completed and presented to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors the day before the earthquake and fire of April, 1906.

This plan, the result of Mr. Burnham's gratuitous service, and years of research, constitutes a great laboratory in which was poured, as into a crucible, the elements, the fragments, and the remains of antiquity from which by process of analysis and elimination he reached conclusions. His work forms, in a peculiar sense, a compendium, fundamentally vital to the success of any one who desires to engage in scientific and artistic city planning. The plan was not intended to be limited in availability only to the immediate present. It was primarily intended as a record of things to be done, and the order in which they should be done even through a distant future. It presents a path of logical progress whereby a city destined to be important may also become convenient and beautiful.

Up to the present time this intent and this purpose have not been fully recognized. Perhaps few of us realize that this plan was essentially a plan for the future. Nearly all of us have been too limited in our imaginations to visualize its potentialities. San Francisco seems to have done nothing, yet in effect it has done much. We have constructed at least a large part of our civic centre, which may be as to location indefensible, may be as to detail inexcusable, but, at least such as it is, it is due to the inspiration of the Burnham Plan. The prospects are good that other portions of the plan will be realized. As Mr. Burnham once said, "A bad plan will defeat itself, a good plan will do its own argufying." Nor will any amount of opposition defeat a good plan. The main thing is that this plan started the

WILLIS POLK

consideration of city planning as a part of the scheme of civic duty.

The city planning idea, if no other thing remains, was Mr. Burnham's contribution to the world's storehouse of knowledge.[1]

On July 9 Mr. Burnham went to Madison, Wisconsin, to act as juror on the plans for the new State Capitol, receiving $1000 as an honorarium; the award went to George B. Post, of New York. On the 13th he was in New York to settle disputed matters with John Wanamaker.

Mr. Burnham, having asked President Eliot to furnish the inscriptions for the Washington station, consulted with him and also with Professor Norton in regard to the statuary to adorn the main entrance. The comments of the Harvard men are interesting as showing the literary view of decorative sculpture.

On August 9, Mr. Burnham wrote to President Eliot:

The progress of the work on the Union Station, Washington, has reached a point which calls for the solution in the immediate future of the problems connected with the statuary and inscriptions. Mr. Louis Saint-Gaudens, who is to do the statuary in coöperation with Mr. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, has conferred with us and discussed the subject for the main frieze of the building. The idea of making this frieze a great page of history, dealing with the discovery and development of America, seems to me a good one. I have tentatively set down the names of Columbus, Leif Ericson, De Soto, Balboa, Hudson,

[1] Mr. Polk has never ceased to press upon the attention of the people of San Francisco the permanent character of the Burnham Plan, and the value of its component parts. In August, 1919, he arranged meetings for the discussion of the plan by leading citizens, architects and officials of the city and Charles Moore, a successor of Mr. Burnham in the chairmanship of the National Commission of Fine Arts.

and Jacques Cartier. Perhaps the names of one or more of these discoverers might well be replaced by the names of frontier priests or pioneer backwoodsmen who had to do with the opening of the country after its discovery.

In the solution of these questions, however, we are all counting particularly on your coöperation, and to this end should like to have a meeting with you at a time and place convenient to you. Mr. Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Mr. Louis Saint-Gaudens will be able to attend a meeting on any date after August 17.

I am authorized by Mr. Cassatt to make an agreement with you fixing the conditions of your services in this connection. If you can state them now or when we meet, I will be obliged to you.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens wrote on August 29, 1905, that he heartily agreed with Mr. Cassatt that nothing could be more appropriate than that the statues of Fulton, Stephenson, and the others should be given great prominence in the station. He suggested, however, that "aside from the fact that the figures will represent a row of men in knee breeches, which would be unfortunate, I fear that they will not 'tell' at that distance as they ought to; for, of course, one of the merits of such statues should be their characteristics as portraits. I think figures of an abstract nature would certainly be more in place, and that representations of the 'North, South, East, and West,' flanked by 'The Thinker' and 'The Laborer,' or 'Commerce' and 'Transportation,' would be preferable, should the 'Discoverers' with their romantic and vigorous characteristics be discarded. Mr. Cassatt's idea, however, is so good that it should not be abandoned. Might they not be introduced in the station? It seems to me that panels in relief on the walls representing the men he proposed might be made effective; and,

PLAN OF SAN FRANCISCO, SHOWING SYSTEM OF CIRCUIT AND RADIAL ARTERIES AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH SAN MATEO COUNTY

although neither my brother nor I could do them, I shall be most happy to advise and direct in the execution."

President Eliot accepted the commission to prepare the inscriptions:

Asticou, Me.
22 *July*, '06

DEAR MR. BURNHAM: I am glad to hear that Mr. Louis Saint-Gaudens has prospered with his statues for the Washington station. He had a stiff job with the Constructive Imagination subject.

As to the inscriptions—legibility from the Plaza is the prime object. If that be doubtful with 11-inch letters, the inscriptions ought to be reduced in the number of words and rearranged. Much will depend on the means used to get contrast of color and lustre between the letters and the stone surface.

I shall be glad to see the new drawing.

P.S. To build a handsome, fireproof city without any masonry seems to be the San Francisco problem — say, out of concrete, steel, plaster on wire lathing, and compressed paper, with gravel or sheet metal roofs and metal chimneys. Also with prompt, universal throttles for gas and electricity.

President Eliot, after examining the Saint-Gaudens sketches, wrote:

Asticou, Me.
August 13, 1906

DEAR MR. BURNHAM: The three figures for the Washington station which you have sent me are noble and impressive in the photographs.

I venture upon a few suggestions, or rather queries.

1. The necks all seem to me long in proportion to the length of the face, particularly Freedom's neck.

2. All three chins are well up. Will that look right from ninety feet below?

3. I cannot make out what the plant is which Freedom

carries on her right arm. That ought to be a good emblem. Is it an eagle which stands on Freedom's right?

4. Inventive Imagination seems to be carrying a scroll and a pen or pencil, as if she were History. Would not a pallet and a brush be better, or some of the tools of sculpture? I observe that Mr. Saint-Gaudens has made Imagination balance Freedom in general outline.

5. The hammer and anvil are not very good symbols for Archimedes. The dividers are all right; but a big jack-screw, or wedges and a mallet, would be better on the left. They would represent an important mechanical power, namely, the inclined plane.

I am sending these three photographs to Professor Norton.

Mr. Burnham on August 17 replied to President Eliot:

I have your valued favor of August thirteenth and in answer to it would say once more that the Saint-Gaudens sketches have not been criticised in detail. They are the merest bits of sketch work in clay, and, therefore, are necessarily full of errors not worth considering at the present moment. When these figures are being pointed up to the full scale we will begin a real criticism of them. I have no doubt that the errors you have noted and which we also have noted, and others as well, will be done away with by Mr. Saint-Gaudens when he begins upon the full-size study.

Experience has clearly shown one thing regarding figures intended to be placed in the open air, and especially figures to go high up, namely, that much exaggeration is necessary in order to get proper effects. The atmosphere always tends to diminish the size of things. In the World's Fair time we had rostal-columns in the Court of Honor, on which were placed statues of Neptune. The design for these figures was completed in a studio in the city. Messrs. Millet, McKim, Atwood, Saint-Gaudens, and I saw the figure in the studio and approved it, but when the casts of it were made and placed upon the columns in the Court of Honor the legs of Neptune disappeared and we were very much chagrined.

Looking at the sketches from directly in front of them the necks seem long, but when they are viewed from below it may be possible that even more exaggeration will be necessary. This can only be decided by putting full-size casts in place and correcting them there, which we expect to do.

The elevation of the three chins is the one thing which gives to the figure a sort of superhuman quality, the pose of the face and of the eyes is that of a being who is not concerned with small things close to his feet, but who sees visions of coming things afar off. Do you remember one of Washington's suggestions to his nephew, in which he says: "When walking do not let the gaze fall upon things too close to your feet, but keep the eyes upon things some distance ahead. This adds dignity to your gait and appearance"? I quote the idea as I remember it, not the words.

You have perhaps also observed that a great French actor, representing a character of high dignity coming down a great stairway toward the front of the stage, is careful not to look down in order to see where his feet are leading him at the moment, but his gaze is comprehensive of everything in the large space which lies before him. This pose of the head seems to carry with it proper self-confidence and realization of the dignity of one's cause.

Freedom carries laurels. It is an eagle that stands at Freedom's right. We have suggested that it be much larger, which will improve the apparent width of the mass, — a good thing to think of. I specially like the very large armful of laurel carried on the right arm of Freedom. It seems to indicate an abundance of results. I think that Inventive Imagination is intended to represent a male.

On August 20, 1906, President Eliot communicated to Mr. Burnham Professor Norton's criticism of the statuary for Washington Station.

They seem to me [says Mr. Norton] quite up to the average of such meaningless symbolic work, and they will answer their purpose as architectural decorations sufficiently well. But

what have they to say to a rational being? What National sentiment do they embody? What ideal do they express?

President Eliot in communicating these criticisms, says:

I suppose the answer is that such statues ninety feet above the pavement can hardly be more than conventional symbols. They can look big, firm, and noble, and they can include some easily recognized emblems. Possibly the inscriptions will help tell what ideal they express.

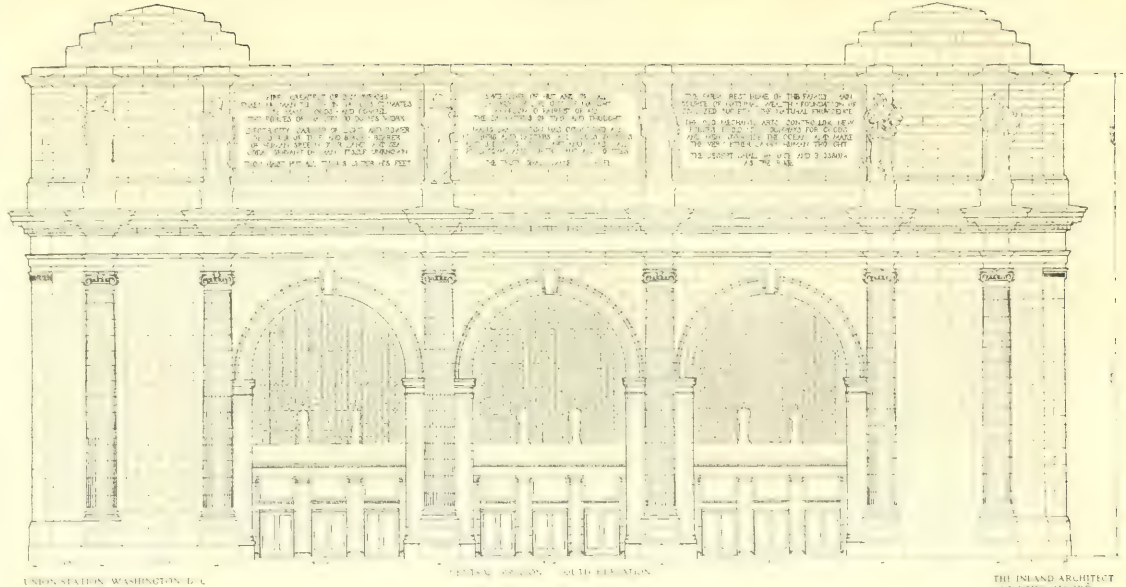
Mr. Burnham replied to Professor Norton:

I am very much obliged to you for your criticism on the Washington Station statuary and inscriptions. I am sending you a perspective showing the front of the building in relation to the Plaza upon which it faces. You will see from this that the architectural scheme calls for a frieze of figures and inscriptions and is in no way adapted to a single, large entrance motive such as a figure typifying "Welcome." Aside from this, however, the matter has long since passed the stage at which it would be possible for us to consider a change in the treatment adopted.

Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Mr. Murray, president of the Baltimore and Ohio, have joined me in hearty approval of the ideas suggested by President Eliot, and I feel sure that when you have seen the inscriptions written by President Eliot, and the statuary designed by Mr. Louis Saint-Gaudens, you will agree with me that the result will constitute a notable achievement.

After two August weeks at Charlevoix playing golf by day and bridge by night, the Burnhams returned to Chicago to celebrate D. H. B.'s sixtieth birthday, on September 4. The Wallers, Fullers, George Lord, Elizabeth White, and the Grahams came to the dinner and staid late for bridge.

On September 21 Charles Norton, the president of the Commercial Club, Frederick Delano, and the club secretary, in-



SOUTH ELEVATION OF THE CENTRAL PAVILION, UNION STATION, WASHINGTON
Showing inscriptions by President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University

vited Mr. Burnham to lunch with them at the Chicago Club and put before him the proposition to take charge of a new plan for Chicago. He "agreed with the understanding that he was to have an entirely free hand in the choice of his associates and assistants." On November 12 Mr. Norton, Mr. Delano, Walter Wilson, and Edward Butler, of the Commercial Club, met Messrs. Burnham and Bennett in regard to beginning work on the Chicago Plan.

The work on the Pennsylvania Railroad terminals had now progressed to such a point as to make the development of the Mall in Washington of much concern. On November 1 Burnham wrote to McKim:

My dear Charles: I send you a copy of a letter just received from Mr. Bernard R. Green. It seems to me of vital importance that the chairman of our Commission should be closely watching new building enterprises for the City of Washington. It is at the inception that things can be given the right direction.

Mr. Green's letter is in reference to one from me, showing that as the Pennsylvania railroad is about to withdraw from the Mall the time has come for an effort to begin upon our own plan in the Mall.

I was told recently by Engineer-Commissioner Biddle that several buildings are projected, some of which will surely be authorized this winter. Their authorization ought to be accompanied with specific orders to locate them properly as regards the grand plan.

The people of Chicago have taken up the planning of the city and have raised about $50,000 for the purpose. I am to do the work and shall need the best advice from the best men, which means that you must expect to be called upon from time to time to give your opinion about things.

It is proposed by the organization to have a dinner in Chicago early in the spring, to which the President and his Cabinet

and all the principal Senators and Congressmen will be invited. This I have suggested to them, believing that such a meeting here, treated in the most serious possible manner, must have a strong influence upon our Senators and Representatives regarding the Washington work itself, because they can thus be made to feel that the people are thoroughly in earnest in this matter.

Some of us are likely to be in New York soon, and I shall then hope to see you and talk the matter over. When the dinner I mention occurs I shall hope to have all of our good fellows attend and we might then make it the occasion for striking another blow for the Academy in Rome. It would not surprise me at all if the whole thing could be rounded up at that time.

To this McKim replied on November 16:

My dear Daniel: Yours of November 1st, enclosing one from Green, was duly received on my return, two weeks ago, and should have been answered before, but you will understand that, after months of absence, I have been obliged to meet many things.

I am better, and, I hope, out of the woods, but not yet strong, and I have still to obey the doctor's orders, and keep away from the office in the afternoons, though I hope soon to be all right again; you know that you can depend upon me for anything in my power.

I am delighted to hear that you have been placed at the head of the scheme for the improvement of Chicago, and hope to be in shape by spring to be present at the great occasion which you are planning.

I am very sorry to hear that Green has not been well.

While I do not believe that Congress is likely to vote measures detrimental to the Mall, I think that we should meet in Washington before long and talk matters over with Green on his return.

I was advised by my doctors, while in Europe, to do as little writing as possible, and I cannot now remember whether or not I properly expressed to you my great satisfaction over your letter to Bishop Satterlee in the matter of the Cathedral.

I grieve to say that reports of Saint-Gaudens's condition are less and less hopeful. His wife writes me to-day that he is obliged to spend much of the time on his back, and is able to see his friends less often. Nevertheless, she looks for improvement, and expresses the belief that he will regain his strength.

Hoping that you are flourishing, etc.

The Burnham Diary has this entry:

December 17. Burnham at Windsor, Vermont. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens came to the Windsor Hotel with two horses and sleigh and took Burnham to Louis and Gus Saint-Gaudens's studio and house; after which she took Burnham to railway station, and he took 12.40 train for Southbridge, Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHICAGO PLAN — THE CONSULTATIVE BOARD — THE GRANT MEMORIAL

1907

THE plan of Chicago occupied Mr. Burnham's attention to the exclusion of almost all else, during the first three months of 1907. A workshop had been constructed on the roof of the Railway Exchange Building. From its windows there was a view over Grant Park and the yacht harbor and off to Lake Michigan, with its long, low-lying steamships bringing the iron ore from the Lake Superior ports to the mills of South Chicago, and its occasional passenger boats making for the Chicago River docks. Michigan Avenue with its speeding motors lay far below, and on festal days the gay processions with their bands and flags made a glorious spectacle. These elements were ever in Mr. Burnham's mind while he was working out the plan: he thought always of the city as a place for men and women to live and for children to grow up in; and his chief idea was to make conditions for working healthy and agreeable, and facilities for recreation both abundant and available.

Meeting after meeting was held in his office to discuss one phase or another of the work. Thither came, in groups of a dozen or more, Charles Norton, Frederick Delano, Edward Butler, Walter Wilson, Franklin MacVeagh, Clyde Carr, John V. Farwell, Charles Wacker, A. C. Bartlett, Joy Morton, Charles Thorne, Leslie Carter, Charles Dawes, Victor Lawson,

MR. BURNHAM'S PRIVATE OFFICE, RAILWAY EXCHANGE BUILDING, CHICAGO; SHOWING THE LAKE FRONT AND THE FIELD MUSEUM PLANS

Chauncey Keep, Martin Ryerson, John G. Shedd, Charles Hulburd, Frederick Upham, William Chalmers, Cyrus and Harold McCormick, Charles Conover, James Houghteling, Albert Sprague, Ernest Graham, and Edward Bennett. After animated discussions the waiters would rush in to spread an abundant luncheon on the long table; and under the mellowing influences of the table differences would be forgotten, leaving uppermost in the mind of departing guests the determination to carry through the plan for making Chicago the finest commercial city in the world.

Sometimes members of the legislature came to discuss details of legislation at Springfield; again the members of the City Council, or of the park boards; often presidents and managers of railways looking after their terminals. Scarcely a day passed without a meeting.

Not that private business was neglected; for there were the two buildings in Pittsburgh for the Henry W. Oliver estate; the New Orleans Terminal; the Cleveland viaduct, and several other buildings in the making. Then, too, there was what Burnham would call a "gyro" to Washington for the meeting of the American Institute of Architects, giving glimpses of friends like Robert Peabody, of Boston, and Cass Gilbert and George B. Post, of New York; and another to St. Louis with Willis Polk, to impress upon those people the advantages of a city plan.

While all this activity was going on in Chicago, insistent calls came from the Government. The Washington Plan was again in trouble, this time over the proposed location of the Grant Memorial in the Botanic Garden area, on the west front of the Capitol grounds. The Grant Commission adopted the

site set apart by the Commission of 1901; but the pedestal had been designed to fit a site south of the White House, and the change of location required modifications in the design, as well as some nice decisions as to the exact placing. Messrs. McKim and Olmsted, being nearest the scene of action, were called in. "Although not well, I with much reluctance consented to serve, only because it seemed a moral duty to do so," writes McKim. Then he continues:

How I longed for you to be there, and to maintain Mr. Root's point, that we must not recede a single inch, but must stand by our plan. As Mr. Root says, once the monument is established according to the Park Commission design, as approved by Secretary Taft (who is at the head of the Grant Commission), it will simply "compel" the construction of the upper end of the Mall and the development of Union Square.

With you a thousand miles away, with Bernard Green a sick man, Saint-Gaudens a sick man, and I not yet strong, I strongly feel that the ranks of the Consultative Board need strengthening; and I, therefore, write now to ask if it will not meet your approval to join with us two more men, both strong adherents of the Park plan, both in touch with Washington and with leading men at both ends of the town; namely, Charles Moore and Frank Millet. If you agree to this, will you let me know and I will tell the President that I have consulted with you, and ask him to add these two names to our number.

To Mr. McKim Mr. Burnham replied in a letter indicating severe mental disturbance:

February 4, 1907

My dear Mr. McKim: I have your valued favor of the first of February and in reply would say that I have for some time felt reluctant about longer serving upon the Washington Commission, as it is organized, and I have to-day telegraphed to the President that I have resigned from the said unofficial commission.

I have done this after a great deal of thought on the subject. This will leave you entirely free to fill my place and add the names of others as proposed to you by the President.

I beg to remain Yours very truly

D. H. BURNHAM

This letter was preceded by a telegram from Mr. Burnham stating that he had telegraphed his resignation to the President, and, since he had nothing more to do with this service, he did not think it advisable for him to recommend names for membership of it. Mr. McKim quickly replied: "Without you existence of Board impossible. Have wired Washington. Do not understand at all. Write me fully." On the heels of this he sent another message, saying that in case Mr. Burnham had any objection to either name suggested he should not hesitate to advise a change. Mr. Burnham replied that he had no objection to either name, but had resigned the Washington commissionership because he could no longer attend to it.

Coincident with his letter stating that he had resigned from the Commission, he wrote Mr. McKim, as president of the American Academy in Rome, resigning from the Board of Trustees of that institution, saying he found it necessary to shorten his list of responsibilities, and that from this time he could retain membership only on boards where it was possible for him to give active, personal attention to the interest in question.

Mr. Burnham's resignation took the form of a telegram to President Roosevelt, saying:

I beg leave to resign from the Park Commission. My resignation to take effect at once. With great respect, I remain,

Very sincerely D. H. BURNHAM

The President immediately sent the telegram to Secretary Taft and asked the Secretary to let him know whether he had any information about the matter. The next day, February 5, Secretary Taft sent a copy of the telegram to Mr. McKim, inquiring:

What does it mean? Burnham always acts by telegram and never in any other way. Will you be good enough to write me in order that I may advise the President?

Mr. McKim had already written to the Secretary:

Mr. Burnham wired to my entire surprise and chagrin that he has telegraphed to the President his resignation as a member of the Park Commission or Consultative Board. We have always worked together in harmony. His invaluable services in the past and in the near future, awaiting the appointment of a permanent commission, would prove a great public loss, and I venture to express the hope to you that the President will not accept his resignation. There never has been the slightest friction that I know of within the Board, and if there exist any cobwebs in Burnham's mind I would like to assist in removing them.

On February 5 McKim wrote to Charles Moore:

Why Burnham should have served with all his might and such enthusiasm since 1901, only to take this step now, while we are still in a sea of uncertainty and need his support most, I cannot understand. It is not like him, and I cannot account for it, except on the ground of some friction of which I know nothing. If Mr. Root and Mr. Taft have time in the midst of their manifold responsibilities to keep alive Senator McMillan's work and to do everything in their power to aid it, it seems to me Burnham's argument that he has no longer time to attend to this occasional work is one which I do not see how he can afford to press. I hope you will write him from the shoulder as to his duty in this matter. I have always been proud of his loyalty to his friends and the enterprises which he

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO: THE DOME OF THE PROPOSED CIVIC CENTRE
From a study by F. Janin

has undertaken. In my experience he has always been the opposite of a quitter. If he appreciated our present condition and the increasing need of his services, he never would have sent that telegram.

On February 5 Mr. Burnham, having slept over the matter, wrote this friendly letter to McKim:

February 5, 1907

My dear Charles: Your telegram of yesterday reached me this morning.

I am drawing in my horns and getting out of things in which I find myself taking no active part. Therefore, I have resigned from the Washington commissionership and the Academy trusteeship. This course leaves the door open for working members and relieves me of responsibilities which I do not properly carry.

You are quite right in regard to the Washington Commission. It lacks strength; but this is not new, the same thing has been true of it from the date of its appointment by the President. . . .

I do not suggest my own successor as this would be bad taste. You should be left to surround yourself with congenial men. Common purpose and harmony in action are necessary if the Commission is to be effective.

I have now no connection with city planning except here in Chicago. This is absorbing me. It was undertaken as a sort of last campaign and because of a sense of obligation to my own city.

With best wishes as ever
Yours affectionately
D. H. Burnham

On February 6 Charles Moore called on Secretary Taft to explain matters and have Mr. Burnham's resignation held up. On February 11 Mr. Burnham telegraphed to Mr. McKim: "After careful consideration of letters from you and Moore, have decided to remain a member of Washington Commission, if this still be desired." And also he telegraphed Moore: "Have

wired McKim agreeing to remain on Commission." McKim answered: "Telegram received. Have just wired Taft in reply to his letter; we have all been most unhappy; greatly relieved."

The letter referred to by Mr. Burnham is as follows:

My dear Charles: The position you and Charles Moore have taken regarding the Washington Commission has had a strong effect. I do not agree with either of you when you imply that my continuance is imperative, but, being in touch with the work, your judgment is better than my own, and I yield therefore to your feeling in this matter.

On the same day he wrote again to McKim, saying:

I enclose a copy of a letter just mailed to Olmsted. The Commission has not attempted to direct the work for which we (the Park Commission of 1901) made a general design. This disjointed way of going on is one of the things that made me disinclined to assume any further responsibility of the Commission.

On February 13, 1907, Mr. McKim replied:

From my letter to Charles Moore, dated February 11th, I make this quotation:

"I do not see how any attempt at a radical reorganization of the Consultative Board can be made at present, yet it might be well to discuss this question with the two great Secretaries. It is evident that we cannot be expected to go on indefinitely in this manner, nor count on the support of the next Administration. If any blow can be struck by which a safe advisory board can be officially appointed during the present Administration by Congress, to safeguard the development of the Washington improvement, Mr. Root or Mr. Taft are the only people I see in sight to consult. You, who know what can be done and what cannot be done, put a wet towel around your head and think about it hard, and let us all meet in Washington before long and get together again as we did with Senator McMillan in 1901.

"It is most unfortunate that, up to the present time, the work of the Commission has been unofficial; but, if you will look back and see what has been done, you will find that every single step has been along the lines proposed by the Commission in its general plan of 1901.

"We have had the President, Secretary Root, and Secretary Taft with us always, and I cannot but think that it will be of great benefit if, on an early occasion, at some time which they may appoint, we may have the opportunity of discussing with them, separately or together, the impossibility of our continuing indefinitely our struggle unofficially, awaiting the appointment of an official board.

"On the other hand, the last thing we can afford to do, is to give up the good fight, and I rejoice to think that you are once more back with us; in fact, your proposition to retire has never received serious consideration by anybody, for the reason that I wrote you; that the work could not go on without you."

In further explanation of his feelings in regard to the Consultative Board, Mr. Burnham, on February 16, 1907, wrote to Charles Moore:

Your letter of the fourteenth has been read with much pleasure. What we need in Washington is a system — a secretary probably. When work affecting our plan is afoot it should be some one's business to know about it and to promptly post all of us. As things are, one hears casually, when he hears at all, that something is happening, or has happened, and, now and then, that a member or two of the Commission has skimmed over something that this or that Government official purposes to do. Not thus can the power possessed by the Commission be brought to bear. I have acted separately myself, and this is not a criticism of any individual. But if this *amicus curiæ* method — or lack of method — goes on, serious trouble will arise to our discredit, and, what is more, to that of the work we have at heart.

I do not agree to stay very long, nor is it really necessary. Near-by events, however, will settle this. Being over sixty, a

perception of the truth of Osler's statement is forcing itself upon me.

I expect to go abroad in April to be gone two months, in the English spring-time, and to take the Madam and two of our boys. I wish you were going with me. Take care of your health.

To McKim Burnham wrote on April 4:

What I wish to be sure of is that you are fully informed in regard to the work which is going on at the west end of the Mall. This, as I understand, is now in progress, although the communications to me have been indefinite, and I cannot get any clear idea. I do not believe it is safe to wait until my return, and I suggest that you put your oar in at once without delay in order to strictly preserve the essential parts of the design at that point. If it goes wrong now, it will do harm in a two-fold manner: first, because the work will have to be gone over again later; and second, because a serious deviation will make a precedent which, later on, will excuse further deviations all the way from the Lincoln Memorial to the foot of Capitol Hill.

From something which has come to me indirectly, I understand that your wishes regarding the location of the Grant Memorial are not being met. You know that I will stand by you in regard to this matter. No one else should determine the final arrangements there except yourself.

One of the principal reasons for my wishing to get out of the work is this constantly recurring irregular piece-meal method of procedure, wherein a single individual practically gives the consent of the Commission to things which have not had the careful consideration of all its members. It commits separate individuals to things they have nothing to do with, and, as I told you before, it fritters away the strength of the Commission and tends to bring it into contempt on the part of the minor Washington officials.

Hoping to get an opportunity to bury the hatchet ceremoniously, McKim telegraphed from Niagara Falls (where he and Millet were occupied on the Niagara Falls Commission) asking

WASHINGTON: THE UNION STATION AND PLAZA AS SEEN FROM THE AIR. THE COLUMBUS FOUNTAIN FORMS THE CENTRAL FEATURE OF THE PLAZA

Mr. Burnham to meet a few of his old friends at dinner at the Metropolitan Club on the eighth of April. He added, "You're a long way from the Bowery." For family reasons Mr. Burnham could not accept the invitation.

In July, 1907, the matter of the location of the Columbus Memorial in the Plaza fronting the Union Station came up. Congress had appropriated $100,000 for the Memorial, which amount while not providing for a large monument made a handsome addition to the budget provided for the decoration of the Plaza and was warmly welcomed on that account.

From Narragansett Pier on July 9, 1907, Mr. McKim telegraphed:

In the interest of the Capital as well as the great building and approaches designed by you, I sincerely trust that the execution of the Columbus Memorial may be placed under your direction without competition by the Memorial Commission and without reference to the Consultative Board.

This telegram he supplemented with a letter, saying:

There can be no doubt that the question is one lying wholly between the Memorial Commission, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and your firm, and that the Consultative Board has nothing to do with the detail which has already been worked out with so much skill. I am certain that all the members of the Consultative Board will concur in this.

Your letter of July 5 to Olmsted hits the nail on the head. I think we should meet with Mr. Root and Mr. Taft early in the Autumn and reorganize our methods. With both branches of the Government fully represented, I believe there would be no difficulty in referring every step to a Board appointed to assist it, which would act as a unit.

On August 11, 1907, Burnham wrote to McKim:

My dear Charles: Your letter of the 9th instant came while I was sitting with Rick Olmsted, who was with me this after-

noon. I am very sorry to hear that you have been ill. Now I hope it is over for good.

As I thought, Col. Bromwell proposes to put in some temporary work at the Lincoln end of our composition and not at all in line with the same. I think Rick was inclined to say yes to it, but he has gone away very firmly persuaded to stand by our grades, roads, and in short for the composition exactly as designed. I told him that if we stood firm on this point the entire thing is practically assured. It will be one more clear precedent. We have the Capitol end pretty well fixed by the settlement of the Grant Monument controversy. We have the lines of the Mall fixed by the decision of the President regarding the location of the Agricultural building and the National Museum. And now if the west end be settled as it should be, we have the practical adoption of the plan by this Administration; and it will go hard with any one hereafter who tries to get in the way on the theory that our design has never been adopted. All this I stated until Rick said "You are right," and as I said he has agreed to stand firm. Meantime he has a letter from Mr. Taft recently received in which the Secretary winds up with a terse statement that he will stand by our plan. . . .

Yours as ever

D. H. Burnham

P.S. Please read the Taft letter to Olmsted, a copy of which you have, and then write or telegraph the Secretary saying that you feel that our lines should be rigidly followed at the west end of the Mall. Make this as emphatic as you possibly can and it surely will result in the Secretary giving orders that will result in the strict carrying out of this part of your great plan. I will also send a few words, and, after what he said at the end of his letter, he cannot do otherwise than what we wish in this matter. Olmsted says there is enough appropriation for the grades and elevations, so that little change will hereafter be necessary and by the time you get back we still will have an opportunity to give Col. Bromwell final figures if you do not feel satisfied with what will have already been done.

From Washington on November 11, 1907, McKim wrote:

My dear Dan'l: As you know, I have been in Scotland all summer for repairs, and, therefore, out of the world, having only recently returned and begun work again. You came home from England just about the time of my departure, if I am not mistaken, and so we have not met.

I have heard about the opening of your great Washington station, and have thought of you on the crest of the wave, as usual.

I have, therefore, been greatly surprised and sorry to learn from Ely, who has just been over from Philadelphia, of your long siege in bed. I can sympathize with you, for I know all about it; but it is good to hear that you are picking up and out again, and I only write this to let you know how glad I am that you are once more yourself.

I am still a lame duck with a game ear, but am allowed to spend half of each day at the office, and hope to get well or "something" before long.

I am on my way to Washington, to be present at a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Grant Memorial to-morrow. You can imagine the situation is not an agreeable one, and that I would have remained at home had it been possible. Upon the adjustment of this matter depends the upholding or reversal of our plan by Congress. It is a good fight, and I believe that the forces that make for law and order will, in the end, prevail, and the plan be upheld by the country at large.

I wish I were strong enough to come on to Chicago and be with you at the time of the convention, as Millet proposes, but I am really not up to it.

Yours ever faithfully Charles F. McKim

The opposition to the location of the Grant Memorial had blazed up in October, 1907, the fires being fed with ample fuel provided by William R. Smith, for fifty-five years the superintendent of the Botanic Garden. Mr. Smith was a Scotchman of eighty years, brimming over with energy and a fighter of per-

sistence and resource. From time immemorial he had been the autocrat of the Garden, in which he and his dogs made their home. It was rumored that the iron fence was maintained after every other park fence, and even the fence about the Capitol grounds, had disappeared, in order to prevent Mr. Smith's dogs from roaming at night. Among scientists the Botanic Garden has no particular standing; for it has long been regarded as a joke and quite unworthy of the Government of the United States. Being under the control of the Congressional Joint Committee on the Library, it is practically an independent institution without guidance, direction, or responsibility.

The particular ground of objection to the location of the Grant Memorial as proposed by the Consultative Board and the Grant Commission and permitted by an act of Congress, was that an old oak planted by John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, an elm planted by James B. Beck, also of Kentucky, and another tree planted by Jacob M. Howard, of Michigan, would have to be sacrificed. Both the "Washington Post" and the "Evening Star" took up the cudgels for Mr. Smith and his trees, and for a month the battle raged in the columns of those papers and in the press throughout the country.

Warning was sounded on October 5 by the "Evening Star":

> Destruction of a thousand magnificent trees, among the finest in the world; the moving of the Smithsonian Institution and the buildings in the Botanical Gardens, lowering the grade in parts of the Mall eleven feet, in direct opposition to the original plans of Alexander R. Shepherd and A. G. Downing, the famous landscape gardener, and the creation of a mock Versailles in place of an American pleasance, are foreshadowed by the erection of the Grant monument at the eastern end of the Botanical Gardens.

VENICE: THE FLAGS OF ST. MARK'S, WHICH FORMED THE PRECEDENT FOR THE FLAGS IN THE UNION STATION PLAZA, WASHINGTON

At the last session of Congress permission was given to the self-constituted park commission to erect the statue on "an unoccupied part of the Botanical Gardens." Without any flourish of trumpets, "almost by stealth," it is said, the commission selected for the monument's site a spot at the eastern end of the gardens, directly in front of the main gate, to which point there used to be a walk down from the Capitol before the terraces were laid out, in 1872, by Frederick Law Olmsted. Far from being an unoccupied spot, the site selected contains more historic trees than any other equal space in the gardens. The terrace on which the pedestal will be erected extends fifty yards each side of the main walk, and has already been staked out by workmen under the direction of Lieutenant Poole of the Engineer Corps, while earth has been dug away from the roots of a tree planted by Senator Howard, of Michigan, ready for the axe to be struck home.

The "Washington Post" on October 8 exclaimed in deep disgust:

There are dozens of places where statues might be placed, and the more they are screened by something beautiful like a tree the better for the public and the sculptor. But when a government board proposes to substitute a pantalooned statue for the living sculpture of God, there is a public protest. The people have good sense and artistic sanity. Suppose a tree stands on a line between the Capitol and the Monument. Must beauty be strait-jacketed in order to be beautiful? Must one brazen statue call to another across the stones of emptiness, as the satyr cries to his fellow? Is it intended that the Mall shall be filled with bronze and marble effigies, like a graveyard? If so, let the vandals at least spare a weeping willow here and there, under which the stricken sight-seer may creep and hide his pain.

As it happened, Congress was not in session; President Roosevelt was in the canebrakes of Louisiana; Secretary Taft was on the China Sea; and there was no one in Washington to

stop Captain Poole from carrying out his orders. The newspapers, however, interviewed everybody available. Justice John M. Harlan said that of course the Crittenden peach-tree ought to be saved, and was pointedly told that the threatened tree was an oak. Conrad H. Syme, a citizen, obtained an injunction restraining Captain Poole from proceeding with his work; Speaker Cannon telegraphed the Acting Secretary of War to have the destruction suspended; President Roosevelt wired orders that no tree of consequence be destroyed without referring the matter to him; General Grenville M. Dodge, chairman of the Grant Commission, wired Captain Poole to suspend work.

Thereupon the "Evening Star," on October 19, exclaimed fervently:

> The trees shall live! The President of the United States sends a message from the depths of the canebrakes of Louisiana and the axe drops from the vandals' hands.

On the reassembling of Congress the fight was transferred to that body, Justice Gould having denied the motion to make permanent the injunction he had issued. Secretary Taft appeared before the House Committee on the Library and explained frankly that the site of the Grant Memorial had been selected before he became a member of the Commission, but he knew from Secretary Root that the site was chosen because it fitted the Park Commission plans. The outcome was that the Crittenden and Beck trees were moved and the work went on. Thus another battle was won; but as the "Evening Star" said in its headlines, the witnesses were mournful and there was "a suspicion of moisture in the eyes of a venerable citizen."

CHAPTER XX

IN QUEST OF THE GOTHIC

1907

THE European trip was now a habit. The need of breaking away from the intense strain of daily work and of travel was manifest; and the opportunity such visits afforded of enjoying the delights of family life were eagerly sought. Companionship with his wife and boys was regarded as the satisfactory reward for a busy life devoted both to private practice and public service.

In 1907 Mr. Burnham planned a leisurely journey to visit the English and French cathedrals as a method of instruction for Hubert and Daniel, Jr., the architects of the family, and as a means of enjoyment for himself. Preparatory to the excursion he wrote to his friend Professor Charles H. Moore, of Harvard, for suggestions as to the structures best repaying study. Professor Moore replied that in his judgment the Gothic monuments most important for the boys to see were: English — Canterbury, Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells, Worcester, Ely (choir), York, and Westminster Abbey. Among the French he named Noyon, Senlis, Paris, Laon, Soissons, Chartres, Amiens, Rheims, Beauvais. "The French series," Professor Moore added, "is nearly chronological, though all these buildings have parts belonging to different periods of construction, and are in many different styles. The earlier parts will always, I think, be most profitable to study."

The party sailed on the Cunard steamship Coronia, on April 9. On the 15th they received their first wireless message

from the Lindgrens, who were on board the Amerika, coming out of Cherbourg. On the 17th they left the ship at Liverpool, where Hubert (then a student at the École des Beaux Arts) met the party. Miss Gertrude Hardon, who had accompanied them, went on to London, where she joined Mrs. William Young. The first cathedral town visited was Durham. The exterior of the cathedral seemed not at all interesting: "Flat on the east, featureless all around. It has no organic arrangement of the members of the interior, except that on the aisle side of the great piers the arches and vaulting members do spring regularly from perpendiculars below. The old Norman piers, part zigzag and part with a sort of Doric fluting filled with reeding, are interesting. The vaulting is heavy and the ribs are ornamented on the sides with zigzag moulding, which is used also in the arched south entrance, with Romanesque columns and capitals. The roof of the nave is pale green slate that looks well through the young, tender spring foliage. The church looks best to me from the close, with a huge oak in the foreground between the observer and the central tower. The picturesque is all there is of Durham. It has no structural or artistic merit; perhaps I should say it has no structure and therefore no merit." The next day the verger showed them the nine-altar chapel, the foundations of the old apsidal chapel, long ago replaced by the flat east face of the cathedral, and St. Cuthbert's tomb; then, at the other end of the cathedral, the Galilee chapel and the Venerable Bede's tomb. "We saw the bishop and another ecclesiastic in wine-colored gowns and bowed to them, and the bishop made the sign of the cross. Hubert and Daniel went up under the roof of the aisles and saw the rudimentary buttresses of the cathedral."

On April 22 they motored from Durham to Fountain Abbey, the seat of the Marquis of Ripon. They lunched in the open air by a small lake and, after a run of eighty-five miles, arrived at York in time to get a first view of York Minster. "It seemed very beautiful in spite of its wooden vaulting and the want of alignment of the choir aisles with those of the nave sides. The general good order of the architecture is so much greater than in the cathedrals of the north that it seems almost perfect, though it is far from being so. The windows of the north transept are very bad, while the rose window of the south transept is beautiful. But one thing can never be surpassed on earth; I mean the sound of the organ in the nave. Standing at the west end while the choir chanted, I noticed that the wood vaulting acted as a sort of sounding board and made the sound resonant. The organist played for ten minutes more, using vox humana, diapason, and flute stops. The effect was wonderful. The whole nave of the great church was full of vibrations, fairly swaying one physically as one stood on the stone pavement. York will ever mean this moment to me. I have never before been so completely satisfied with noble music. The organist is Mr. Noble. The name fits him! He played as though the name expressed his soul."

Next day they went back to the cathedral and found the verger waiting. He said condescendingly that he did n't know whether he could give them any time or not, but as they were on a touring trip he would. He showed the old piers and the rest of the construction features below.

The Diary observes that the present Duke of Rutland was the ninth, and the seventeenth Earl of Rutland. "These personages may not be very bright; but they are devils to shut

their eyes and hold on." Starting from Haddon Hall they ran on for lunch at the Hoppole Inn at Ollerton, where a hand-organ outside the windows played for them. In the afternoon they ran to Chesterfield and Lincoln — about seventy miles for the day. They put up at the White Hart, finding a sitting-room on the second floor called "Yarborough." Their own rooms were above, up a winding stair. After refreshing themselves, they went to the cathedral for the end of the service.

April 25 was rather cold. After a second visit to Lincoln Cathedral they left for Peterborough. "The roads in this neighborhood are the best in the world. After lunch, we ran on to Ely, across the fen-lands, where the roads also are good, and after tea we viewed the cathedral."

They reached Cambridge before noon of the next day, and began their sight-seeing with Christ, Trinity, and King's Colleges. "King's College interior is a beauty. There is nothing like the Trinity Courtyard, opening finally over the bridge on the meadows — a stately old place." After lunch, they ran on to London and had the wonderful experience of threading their way into the city. "We reached Morley's Hotel in Trafalgar Square at a little after three o'clock, a total run from Ely of about eighty miles for the day." There they found "a most delightful sitting-room facing on the square, where the fountains were playing in the misty weather — a charming effect. This pleasant surprise is enhanced by the cosiness of the room, with its cheery fire."

The Diary tells this story:

April 26. Mr. Denell came in about 5 and remained until 9 o'clock, taking dinner with us. He said that Mr. Selfridge[1] told

[1] H. Gordon Selfridge, a native of Wisconsin; by his abilities he be-

THE SELFRIDGE BUILDING, REGENT STREET, LONDON, ENGLAND

him of riding on an omnibus whose driver was interfered with by a fine private coachman. The omnibus man leaned over with a perfectly sober countenance and called out, "I soy, gardener, is the coachman sick?"

April 29. Picked up Mr. Selfridge and went to Foot's Gray, the country residence he occupies about twelve miles from London Bridge. On the place are the fine old cedar trees under which Napoleon III used to sit. There is also a French garden.

May 1. Arrived at Canterbury at 4 P.M. and were immediately in another fairyland. As usual, we found at the county hotel a delightful sitting-room with just the right sort of armchairs and fire and outlook. Our English blood responds to English ideas of comfort. We had tea at once and went out, as the days are long, twilight scarcely beginning before 8 P. M. We found the man at the cathedral just closing it but went to the chief guide's house near the gate. He was ill, but his wife sold us five tickets, and the verger then opened up and went over the entire cathedral with us, — the William of Sens choir, the William of England part, the place where Thomas-à-Becket was killed and the many wonderful old ruins and buildings of the close. The extreme beauty of the interior carried us away. The influence of France in the structure, and the Byzantine floors and tiles were interesting. The Black Prince's tomb is fine.

The old town is full of buildings of long ago and is so attractive, apart from the cathedral, that we do not like to think of leaving Canterbury. The window in the centre of the apse is equal to anything in color, even to the best at Chartres. The drawing is beautiful also. If the windows of the remainder of the cathedral equalled it, the effect of the church would be fine.

May 4. We left Windsor at 9 A.M. and arrived at Warwick at 6 P.M., making in all 104 miles for the day. We visited Oxford

came a manager and then a partner of Marshall Field & Co. In 1906 he went to London to organize Selfridge & Co., Ltd., and built one of the largest stores in Europe. D. H. Burnham & Co. were the designers; but a British architect modified and carried out the designs. Mr. Selfridge lived at 30 Portland Square, London, and at Highcliffe Castle, on the English Channel.

and walked through Christ Church College, where I much admired the Library building, also the Common Hall, with its superb pictures of one-time students, many of whom have distinguished themselves as scholars and statesmen. We lunched at Clarendon Hotel and Hubert brought in a friend named Hack, an American who is taking a post-graduate course. Then we went through the little town of Burnham and drove through the Burnham Beeches and so on to Fred Coleman's (the chauffeur's) old home, where we spent an hour and took tea with his married sister and visited the old church. Then we ran on to Banbury Cross. We found the country as lovely as landscape can possibly be. The day has been sunshiny in the main, with an occasional shower thrown in. At Banbury Margaret bought buns, of course.

May 5. Warwick — Sabbath morning. The day's run was 59 miles; first, to Worcester where we arrived while the morning service was in progress. We sat down inside for a while, then Dan and I left the church and walked around the exterior to the entrance in the cloisters. We stepped in and found an Irish verger, who said he could not admit us on Sunday, except to the nave during service; but that the canon in residence, who was then conducting service in the cathedral, might be willing to do so when he came out. Along came the choir, the canon last. They entered the chapter house and the door closed to open from time to time to let out individuals who had unrobed.

Finally came the canon, and just as he was getting away, at Dan's urgent request I spoke to him. He did not seem displeased, but said we could not go in. It was the rule of the church. I told him we had stopped expressly for the purpose, that all I wanted was a close view of the choir and the east end. I told him I was connected with a commission for the Bishop of Washington.[1] After a little more hesitancy, he turned to the verger and told him he need not wait, that he himself would give us the peep we wanted. We were now on the south side of the cathedral, far removed from Margaret and Hubert who must have gone out at the north door. We gave up the idea of get-

[1] See chapter xxi.

ting them, as the canon was old, stout, and, we thought, anxious for lunch, it being nearly one o'clock. He took us in around the choir, down into the crypt, and everywhere else, saying constantly, "Oh, one thing more I must show you." In spite of half a dozen attempts to get away, this sweet old man would n't have it. We finally went out into the open where Worcester Castle stood (George McDonald's Worcester Castle, the scene of St. Michael and St. George), and where in a row are five of the finest elms in the world. We must go into his house, the first story of which he showed us and the garth behind giving us a view of the old ruin of the west wall of the ancient guest-house of the Bronx, over and through which ivy-covered pile we got the most superb background — the cathedral itself.

This was the old man's carefully worked-up climax, and from it he turned to his writing-room where he inscribed a little book on the cathedral, of which he is the author. He showed photos of the three daughters of the King, all of whom he prepared for confirmation; also of the coronation ceremony in which he came close to royalty and wore cardinal red. He said, "Lest you think it mere vanity [he was in bright priest's robes] this cross hanging from me neck is a royal order and this clasp on me left breast is the symbol of a King's chaplain. I am one of the six chaplains." He has American friends and loves to see them and to entertain them as well. He said that Yale had offered him a D.D., but that he had never been able to go over to take it. The Reverend T. Teignmouth-Shore, M.A., Canon of Worcester — and a very jolly old canon he is. May fortune see that his cup never runs dry.

At the Crown Inn I tried to buy a piece of pewter of the landlady, but she would not sell. Then we ran on to Tewkesbury and when near the town of Gloucester, our first tire whistled. We came through Stratford to-day and saw the Shakspere House, in front of which we took up a small boy to show us about. Two more came, stared, and at a word started off together telling the Shakspere story, which they had learned by heart and repeated together by rote. It was very funny.

May 6. Gloucester in the morning. At nine o'clock we strolled around the back of the cathedral and looked in at the chapter house; but the beadle said we had no business there and would not let us in. So we worked back to the south door, which was finally opened, and we saw the splendid old Norman round piers and all the rest of it, including the crypt. Note the setting back of the columns of the triforium. Very little Gothic here. Enormously heavy walls, but the perpendicular parts, though not Gothic, are delightful, especially the fan vaulting of the cloister. We left about eleven o'clock and took in Malmesbury ruined by the Roundheads, old Norman ruins principally. We walked in the churchyard and Fred helped the man mow.

At Malmesbury we went to the King's Arms for lunch and there for the first time in England, in our experience, standing in front of the inn was a host out of "Pickwick" — the same hat and entire make-up. Then Pickwick's wife, a fat woman of forty-five, with a hat on one side of her head! This couple played the parts perfectly. When he came in to carve, the whole thing was complete. He introduced me to Mr. Alexander, "who had been in America." The latter proved to be the first man that Rockefeller forced out of business in refining oil. He lived in Cleveland and told me of a visit from Horace Andrews, whose old father, a Malmesbury man, Alexander had managed to help away from England fifty years ago.

Then we went through Bath, where we stopped to look at the Pump House and the old Roman baths, and on to Wells, where we again reached the height of bliss by reason of good rooms fronting the cathedral, in the Swan.

May 7. Up early and went to the cathedral after breakfast. We saw the entire church — the double inverted arches where the transept crosses the nave. The triforium is almost continuous and the vaulting members do not stop below, but above it — in the perspective of the nave; therefore, accent is wanting and the work is not Gothic construction.

We reached Salisbury at 12.30. After luncheon we walked to the cathedral and spent an hour admiring the delicacy of the

piers of the nave, which, however, lacked Gothic character. The triforium is very heavy and rich, but the string beneath cuts off any view of its shaft bases, and although the effect has beauty, the whole vista from end to end lacks impressiveness. The distinguishing mark in Salisbury is refinement of an English sort, the details, outside and in, being more delicate than those of any other cathedral in England. The color of the outside appeals strongly — the purple grays and green grays.

May 7. We arrived at Winchester a little before 5 o'clock. The run to-day was about sixty miles. The early part of it was in a deep valley of great beauty, and there have been noble estates on both sides of us all day. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the country in every bit of the way since we left Worcester. It is all I dreamed.

May 8. We walked to the Winchester Cathedral, and down the nave, which has half round vaulting shafts, extending from the pavement to the fan vaulting. At the gate of the choir screen, we met a young Catholic priest who talked to us about several French churches he knew. He said the English clergy do not know half the meanings of the sacred, symbolic things in the cathedral; that he could show them many things they are not aware of. At parting he said he wished the cathedrals would come back to the Old Church. The sacristan, a pleasant old man, took us into the choir where we saw the oak-carved staircase in the pulpit, so dainty and beautiful; the stalls and the altar, the aisles, the two great Norman transepts; the library with its many beautiful old Bibles and manuscripts, some of them marvels of workmanship in inks and colors. The view through the iron gateway between nave and choir, into the choir and beyond, towards the east, is the most sumptuous thing inside of any church I know: the dark, rich oak in the foreground; the old thirteenth-century arches beyond; then the enormous ivory-colored reredos; the blaze of color at the end of the vista above and beyond the reredos; the superb vaulting, fanciful and theatrical, gemmed with colored bosses, lit up with gold. As a glory of rich effect, combined into one great mass of decorations, nothing exceeds it. I ex-

plain to my son Dan that all this rhapsody has nothing to do with the opinion of an architectural student as to the purity of the styles found here, or as to the comparative values of this or that treatment. The effect is that of full dress, where court, priests, and prelates might find a stage for processionals seen through clouds of incense. Sumptuousness is the word. One's tendency to feel gorgeous spectacles is stimulated here.

Now we are bidding good-bye to the cathedrals of England.

May 11. Rouen. Up before 8 A.M.; breakfast, coffee and rolls, in the pretty room downstairs, having a window-door opened to the floor; so we were practically in an out-of-door apartment. It seemed entirely natural to take just bread and butter and coffee. We then went out on the streets; first to the two old churches near here, then on to Saint-Ouen, the Cathedral, and Maclou, all of them very flamboyant and so bad from a Gothicist's point of view, but none the less beautiful as masks and unrelated forms — "lacelike." The view of Saint-Ouen from the beautiful garden behind it toward the east is very beautiful. The building pyramids up in a highly satisfactory manner. So far as this sort of thing goes surely neither Paris or Amiens can surpass it. We enjoyed the brilliancy of the interior of Saint-Ouen also. Sunlit and full of gold at the east end, it is very powerful in the general coloring. We had regular breakfast at our hotel at 12.30 P.M. and, being very hungry, enjoyed it.

We especially enjoyed old Rouen, with the quaint houses, carved lintels, and curious old worm-eaten fronts. Everywhere in the old houses and churches is the same love of fine exquisite detail — the real artist's spirit. The boys having climbed to the roof of Saint-Ouen, say that even up *behind* the parapets, and in places never to be seen, is a wealth of beautiful dainty stone carving. The air is full of that old spirit of Île de France, at the border of which we are to-night. We retired about 9 P.M. and slept soundly all night.

May 12. Sunday. Rouen, Abbéville, Amiens. We breakfasted at the door opening into the court and began our journey toward Abbéville. The day was very warm and the coun-

try hilly. Plenty of dust; no clouds. We reached Abbéville about noon and lunched at the Hôtel de Gare, then went to the church and looked it over, though it was not worth seeing. We went on to Amiens, wherein we found a very pleasant hotel (Du Rhin). It has a courtyard on which the dining-room opens. The trees are very large and fine; a sycamore, a horse-chestnut, a beech, and many evergreens, also a pool of water and two live sea-gulls, with clipped wings. They make mournful cries and are sad prisoners. This shady garden of tall trees is grateful to our feelings. We had coffee there after dinner and sat quite late in the cool of the evening. The country has no fences or hedges to speak of; and, therefore, lacks the visible insistence upon individual rights which is the distinguishing mark of difference in the make-up of the national minds of France and England. We retired about 10, with windows wide open into the fine garden.

May 13. Awoke about 8.30 A.M. Found the air delicious at the wide-open window and the may-bug gone, which I twice put out the evening before. Went down to the garden where a table was set for us, and coffee and rolls and eggs were served. That breakfast was a pleasant one! Then we sauntered out into the street, Hubert and I, to the post office to get a registered letter from the Government authorizing me to draw down my $190 of [automobile] duty as I go out "at any frontier." The letter was in the hands of the postman on the beat, who finally handed it to me at the hotel. Then we joined Margaret and Dan and got our first view of the Amiens Cathedral. It is one of the great pieces of architecture of the world; one does not need to be told this; when he sees it, he feels it instantly. If only the windows had the old glass, what a supreme human work it would be!

It is anyway; but one does miss the deep rich color of the interior, which was evidently intended, and was a part of the great design.[1] The church interior is Apollo and Diana —

[1] One of the old windows having been blown in by a storm, bits of rare old glass lay scattered over the floor of one of the passageways. Some fragments Daniel, Jr., possessed himself of and had made up into a circular disk

extreme grace, dignity, and lightness, every Gothic principle recognized, no ornaments used unless expressing structural purpose — an almost supernatural dream in stone. But, alas! Viollet-le-Duc has spoiled the apse. How could he be permitted to do it! He has put a colored tunic on Praxiteles's Hermes. Luckily it can all come off and no doubt will when France is undergoing one of her noble moments of artistic sanity. We intend to stay with this church until she has said much more to us — a sort of good-bye to the greatness of earth for me, an opening of the sky for the boys into that architectural heaven toward which I hope their thoughts are leading them. Margaret enjoys it all intensely.

In the afternoon we strolled in the town and saw the railway banks, admirably sloped, pathed, and planted. We had duck-pie at dinner. This is the great Amiens dish.

May 14. We went to the Museum to see the Puvis de Chavannes wall decorations and again went over the cathedral, which grows more and more satisfactory on acquaintance. We came back to the hotel soon after three o'clock — all but Dan, who clambered up to the cathedral roof, and whose hat with the red band appeared in the façade now and then as we were leaving. When Dan came in he reported that up in the triforium gallery, or somewhere aloft, he met an archæological professor from Columbia University, who was working a plumb-bob and a camera to prove that the nave piers of Amiens have entasis, a theory in which he believes in spite of the derision of other fellows who did n't discover this — Charles H. Moore among them. Dan thinks he saw the curve himself, and I am to go over to take a look at it.

May 15. Some home letters came in this morning with good news in regard to the City of Chicago improvement. The boys are going up to Paris to-day for a students' ball in the Latin Quarter. Cheney Wells is to be one of the party and Arthur Orr.

I went to the cathedral and climbed up in the triforium.

to hang in a window. The rare colors were his father's delight until his death, as they are now the delight of the author.

DANIEL H. BURNHAM
On the terrace at Evanston

Found carvings of caps, bases, corbels, finials, and pilasters where no one could see the work, but all done with the same fidelity that distinguishes the work near the ground in the church, or at the portals outside. We found Dan's man who thinks that the old fellows, from the Byzantine architects to the thirteenth-century Gothic builders, employed entasis. He says he has a large display of photos in the Brooklyn Museum. He had a plumb-bob dropped from the northeast corner of the great pier at the intersection of choir and transept and it showed entasis, but this was evidently due to the kicking out, at this point, from aisle vaulting. While his theory is not a sound one, it led us to a closer study of the construction and was very good for the boys and me.

May 19. Rheims, although important in mediæval times, has no ancient flavor to compare with that of Rouen and other Norman towns. The cathedral is superb, up to the best almost, having much old glass. The interior is on that account richer.

May 21. We stopped at Soissons. The cathedral is beautiful and very good Gothic, but the organ has been placed against the west wheel-window, and this mars the interior very much. The round piers of the nave, with rather wide bays, give a light effect.

We stopped at Pierrefonds, the great mediæval castle, which Viollet-le-Duc restored, and which has a statue of him over the door of the chapel. The view from it is very extensive.

May 22. At Senlis we saw both the cathedral and also the old abandoned church, to which we finally got entrance and found a most beautiful room with carved wood ceilings, the proportions being very fine indeed. The tower of Senlis Professor Moore calls the most beautiful in the world. The cathedral inside shows signs of early Gothic. This town has more dogs of more kinds than any place in the world except Constantinople.

May 23. The trees of France everywhere are in blossom and the effect is magnificent. We stopped at St. Leu d'Esserent and found an old twelfth-century church. While we were in it a priest brought in singing bands of children. We walked in the

old gardens beside the church and looked far off over the country, as the church is located on a high promontory. We drove on to Chantilly, where one gets an idea of the grandeur of the seigneurs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then proceeding through St. Germain, we ran into Versailles, where we lunched in a private room, with a Hungarian band outside. We walked to the grand terrace and on down to the canal, and back through the garden at the right. We then ran on and in passing saw the great Château de Rochefort. We arrived at Chartres at 6 P.M. after a run of one hundred miles for the day.

May 29. Chartres. We spent most of the morning at the cathedral, approaching it through an avenue of horse-chestnuts in bloom, with deep red blossoms. Chartres Cathedral stands by itself in art. The designer intended to produce a perfect interior and he carried out his purpose. There is not a cubic inch of material uncalled for by the construction. The piers are extremely fine and beautiful. *All* the vaulting members are exactly as they should be and come down to their proper beginnings. The grand arcade openings are perfect in proportion and in detail. The stone above them is exactly the scale masonry to suit the location. The string course is a perfection; and so are both the triforium and the clerestory. Then the vaulting! It completely satisfies all one's most critical feelings. The grand proportions viewed from the west end of the nave, like the vaulting, completely meet the theory of the highest development of Gothic. Nothing is wanting in mass or in detail. Of course, I except the choir, which is half Renaissance; it does not belong there; but where everything else is perfect, one can ignore this impertinence.

Indeed, something must be ignored in every great Gothic church. A Gothic cathedral must have rich stained glass, witness Amiens, which lacks it; and witness Chartres, which has it. Both of these interiors approach perfection in the Gothic use of stone. Amiens appeals as a statue does; Chartres appeals as an angel might. The color and form of the major and minor things of this great monument have lifted us outside of ourselves and above the world. As in other very great works of

art, the means used by the masters in obtaining results are the very simplest and most straightforward. The exterior of Chartres is as remarkable as its interior. It clearly expresses the purposes of the interior and it is remarkable for its reserve, in that nothing is done unless called for by the constructional purposes. The power of a great genius is to do the entire thing without resorting to mere decoration; such marks this glorious piece of real architecture!

We lunched in a dream, and in the afternoon Dan and I hung around the cathedral until quite late, watching the glorious glass, its lights and shadows cast in a thousand beauties within; and we saw the wonderful effects of the southwest exterior under the setting sun.

May 25. Up very early, the boys and I, and in the cathedral before breakfast. Again the overpowering beauty. The glass, sumptuous and of a quality indescribable. Not on earth again can we hope for the artist's higher emotion to envelop us as it has done here. We are going away with reluctant feet and eyes turned lovingly back to the cathedral of Chartres.

May 26. Paris. In Notre Dame the Archbishop of Paris, with mitre and crozier, was conducting service. Surely the west front is most noble of all Gothic fronts; but after Chartres, the interior no longer impresses me so strongly as was the case in other years. It is not only the lack of color in Paris, but it is the noble perfection of the grand proportions of Chartres that tell. Now that Professor Moore's book has trained us, we strongly perceive the exquisite beauty of the final mastership in Chartres and Amiens. The color of Paris is very beautiful — the mauve atmosphere of the transept and the pale green of the nave.

Returning from the cathedral we found the Woodyatts at Foyot's. It was a delightful meeting.

June 2. We ran out to Versailles and walked to the grand terrace and down to the Grand Trianon. We sat and listened to the music on the side near the Tapis Vert, then it began to rain. We hastened over to the Basin of Neptune; it cleared and we went back to the head of the grand terrace steps, where we

saw Les Grandes Eaux; then over the terrace, where all the fountains were playing, to the Basin of Neptune again, where all the jets were in play.

June 18. Liverpool. At half-past two we got on a four-wheeler and went to the docks. It was raining and we sat in the cab on the pier for a while until the gangplank came out. The Misses Hoffman came aboard, and a man named Rathom[1] spoke to me. He used to be a newspaperman in Chicago, but is now editor of the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal."

It was a sharp transition from Gothic cathedrals to meetings with the Chicago Plan Committee; visits to Washington, to inspect General Corbin's new house at Chevy Chase, and to take note of the progress of the new buildings in the Mall; and a run up to Duluth to give unwelcome advice about a new court house; and another over to Cleveland to meet Carrère and Brunner, together with Mayor Tom Johnson, all of which activities were compressed into the month of July.

In Cleveland blood poisoning in the foot made its appearance, calling a sharp halt to the day's work. On the last day of July Burnham arrived in Chicago, hobbled to a cab, and made his painful way to the offices in the Railway Exchange. His right foot and leg were very sore. From August 1 till September 16 he remained in bed at home. Then he began to sit up in a rolling chair; on the 26th he appeared at his office on crutches; and it was not until October 20 that he cast these supports aside and walked into a Catholic church to see his grandchild, Margaret Kelly, baptized, Mrs. Burnham acting as godmother.

[1] John Revelstoke Rathom, by birth an Australian; educated at Harrow; war correspondent in the Soudan and Cuba; explorer in New Guinea and Alaska; once staff-correspondent and editor of the *Chicago Record-Herald;* now a member of the executive committee of the Associated Press; managing editor and editor of the *Providence Journal* since 1905; a thorn in the side of the pro-Germans during the World War.

The American Institute of Architects met in Chicago on November 20, and Frank Millet announced his threatened approach in this fashion:

November 14, 1907

DEAR DAN: I took luncheon with Charles McKim yesterday in New York, and he said he could n't possibly go to Chicago and that he had written you to that effect. Mead is going and I shall probably arrive early in the day, Monday, as I have at this late date decided to harden my heart and go on Sunday with Mead and the others. I fancy Mr. Post will go, but I don't know. Gilbert, the candidate,[1] of course will go; probably on the train with Mead and me. I shall spend Saturday night with Ely at Bryn Mawr. Don't take the trouble to meet me. I know Chicago and I speak the language, and will turn up at the office in the forenoon of Monday and arrange to have my bag handy to take to Evanston.

I feel like a boy about to take a holiday from school and to revisit his favorite playground, and look forward to being with you again with more eagerness and agreeable anticipation than you can believe.

The Diary says:

November 18. Found Frank Millet in the office. Drove to South and Sherman Park. Millet, Lenriger, Charles Deering, Carrère, Dyer, Barber. They and Bennett lunched with me at the Chicago Club. Home with Frank Millet as guest.

November 19. D. H. B. and Frank Millet came in town and lunched at the office. Present: Sprague, Thorne, Wacker, Delano, Morton, Millet, Carrère, Olmsted, McCutcheon, Burnham, Bennett, Delamater, Norton.

November 20. Dinner of the American Institute of Architects at the Art Institute. After dinner Millet and Burnham walked to the Annex, spent some time with a lot of architects in café.

[1] Cass Gilbert was president of the American Institute of Architects, 1908–09.

Frank Millet's comments on the Washington station were expressed in this letter:

Forest Hall, Wisconsin Avenue
Washington, December 1, 1907

A day or two ago I saw the station for the first time in the day time, and it impressed me very much, and more and more as I saw it. It is a monumental performance and one to be very proud of. The only thing I don't like — and this is purely personal taste — is the great barrel roof. The portals are very fine and the concourse a wonder, and the proportions of the waiting-room are irreproachable. I have heard nothing but praise of these latter features. I wonder if the roof would n't look better the same color as the building.

Pity you did n't have money enough to put in the history of transportation to entertain the people in the waiting-rooms. Great chance!

I saw C. F. McK. in New York for a few moments. He was looking very tired and frail. If possible, I shall see more of him next week.

Since I came back the burden of my work has increased and I have n't had a moment to myself, but I have not forgotten the delight of seeing you all again and the great pleasure my visit gave me — nor shall I ever forget it, for it is one of the most satisfactory visits I ever made to Chicago.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens died at "Aspet," on August 3, 1907. For years his brave and uncomplaining spirit had been fighting an unequal fight with the tortured body. As his son tells:[1] "After watching from his sick bed a sunset behind Mount Ascutney, a hill whence came his strength, he said: 'It is very beautiful — but I want to go farther away.'" There among whispering pines, the body lies; but there also the spirit lives in his works and the hearts of his family and his friends.

[1] *Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 359.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL

1906–1907

IN 1906 the Right Reverend Henry Yates Satterlee, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Washington, invited Mr. Burnham to become a member of a commission of advice on the proposed cathedral in Washington. Charles McKim; Professor Charles H. Moore, of Harvard; Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Bernard Green, superintendent of the Library of Congress, were the other members of the commission.

From the beginning of the project it was determined that the cathedral should be Gothic. This determination Charles McKim sought to change in favor of Renaissance architecture as practised by Sir Christopher Wren. The discussion as revealed in correspondence deals in a vital way with the problems of style in church building in this country, and presents points of view of decided interest to both architects and laymen builders. Also it reveals the pitfalls into which the conscientious ecclesiastic is plunged by his determination to write sermons in stones, instead of permitting the stones to preach their own sermons.

Mount St. Alban, the site of the Cathedral, comprises forty acres at the junction of Massachusetts and Wisconsin Avenues. The view over the city takes in the entire great central composition from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument and thence to the dome of the Capitol. It has points of

likeness to the outlook over Rome from the Pincian Hill to the dome of St. Peter's. Charles A. Platt, when visiting the beginnings of the cathedral in 1917, wittily said that he would willingly visit a dozen modern Gothic cathedrals for the sake of getting one such view.

Bishop Satterlee was known in the church as a master-builder, spiritually as well as with stone and mortar. By birth a New York aristocrat of English and Dutch antecedents, he was carried into the church by zeal for service to his neighbor and his Master. The poor, the weak, and the oppressed were his constant care; for them he prayed and worked with all his strength. When he consorted with the rich his mind was so full of opportunities for service that not infrequently his burning spirit kindled theirs, so that they gave largely of their substance to promote his undertakings. He considered the bulwarks of Zion and regarded her towers to build them. To use his own words, he mortgaged himself to buy the St. Alban site; and when the debt was paid, he plunged into the cathedral project with an energy that literally carried him out of this world at the age of sixty-five years.

With all his activity and interest in present-day problems, he was by nature a mystic and a symbolist. To him God spoke as clearly in the towers of Canterbury Cathedral as in sea and mountain. He yearned that He should speak to the American people from Mount St. Alban through the medium of a splendid work of architecture at once inviting and satisfying. He was convinced in his own mind that he had the formula by which this result would be brought about.[1]

[1] Bishop Charles H. Brent's *A Master-Builder: Being the Life and Letters of Henry Yates Satterlee, First Bishop of Washington*, is the authority. The

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO: PROPOSED CIVIC CENTRE SQUARE, SHOWING THE GROUP OF SURROUNDING BUILDINGS

While in England in 1906, Bishop Satterlee was taken by the Bishop of Liverpool to visit the foundations of the new cathedral in St. James's Park. Then he visited Gloucester Cathedral as an example of "architectural boastfulness"; which fault, the bishop was convinced, caused the downfall of Gothic architecture, and therefore must needs be avoided in Washington. The Archbishop of Canterbury said to his American friend "that Mr. G. F. Bodley, who is associated with young Gilbert Scott in the building of the new Liverpool Cathedral, is undoubtedly the greatest architect in England and one whose judgment is most to be depended upon." Bishop Satterlee had two interviews with Mr. Bodley, who was so much interested in Washington Cathedral that he wrote to the bishop: "It would be grand if your newer world in America should show modern civilization that the ancient dignity and beauty of religious Christian architecture can be achieved in these days. It could be! Gothic art, with all its acceptance of the beauty of nature as its basis, and its added spiritual, aspiring fervor could do all this." "Is not that an enthusiastic forecast," writes the bishop, "of what Gothic architecture can now do, from 'the greatest living English architect'?" When the advisory commission advised against a competition, Mr. Bodley became the architect of Washington Cathedral.

From the first the condition that Washington Cathedral should be in the Gothic style met with a determined protest on the part of Charles McKim, and after some argument he secured Mr. Burnham's whole-hearted support, so that the two combined to urge on Bishop Satterlee the use of motives

author, however, has the reinforcement of an acquaintance with Bishop Satterlee covering several years prior to 1903.

derived from classical architecture. The bishop, however, never came to regard the architect as an artist, or indeed as anything more than a builder set to realize the ideas of an ecclesiastical employer. The correspondence, however, has not only the poignant interest always attaching to a well-lost cause; but it also has an abiding value in view of the ever-recurring struggle of mediævalism against the modern spirit.

It was on January 16, 1906, that Washington Cathedral Trustees invited the five men named to become members of the "preliminary advisory committee to determine upon the conditions for the erection of a Gothic cathedral." They were asked to serve without payment other than travelling expenses. The invitation came to Mr. Burnham as he was sailing for Europe, and he was not present at the February meeting, when Sir Purdon Clarke, Charles McKim, Bernard Green, and Professor Moore spent a morning on the snow-covered heights. They approved Mr. Burnham's advice already given that a relief map be made, and asked Professor Moore to prepare a paper on the leading principles of Gothic architecture.

The paper as submitted maintained that the original and true Gothic style is that of the Île de France of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; and that all other types of pointed architecture in Europe "derive what Gothic character they have from this French source, but in no other types are the essentially Gothic principles of design and construction consistently and fully developed. The finest of these other types is the so-called Early English; but while in its best forms it has much beauty, it is not comparable in either beauty or monumental grandeur to the true French Gothic." Inasmuch as "no really Gothic structure has been erected in modern times,"

Professor Moore opined that "success will depend upon a clear understanding of the true principles of Gothic design and construction and on the spirit in which the work is conducted." On this Bishop Satterlee's comment is: "It seems to me that perhaps there ought to be a little more latitude than Professor Moore has set forth, and that it might be a mistake to confine the style of architecture too much to the French and the first period of Early English." [1]

On the 5th of May the advisory committee met at Bishop Satterlee's house; and probably then Charles McKim took issue with the Gothic restriction. In a confidential letter to "my dear Daniel," on June 6, McKim expresses himself as

somewhat surprised by your seeming departure to the clerical view; [2] nor can I understand your statement that whereas the work of the Government should be classic in style, that of the Episcopal Church cannot be expected to find expression in the same architecture; and that its precedents are Gothic.

I should say that an examination of the facts disproves this view. Most of the churches in England and in this country, built in the eighteenth century — distinctly Episcopal churches — were in the style of the Renaissance, gradually evolved from the Classic, and were in no sense a revival, such as the Gothic and Classic revivals at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, the Gothic style is that of the Roman Catholic Church of mediæval times, while the Reformation and the Renaissance were phases of one and the same movement in the direction of freedom from the canons of Mediævalism. The attempt to make use of the Gothic in the present day, as Professor Moore, you will remember, agreed, can only be one of

[1] Letter, Satterlee to Burnham, April 4, 1906, enclosing copy of Professor Moore's paper.

[2] Mr. McKim once spoke of the New York Cathedral, St. John the Divine, as "ecclesiastical Gothic — the churchman's idea of what Gothic is."

imitation, not in the spirit of the age. As Ferguson says, "The great lesson we have yet to learn before progress is possible is that Archæology is not Architecture."

I do hope you will be cautious in replying to Bishop Satterlee's letter. I cannot imagine a more noble opportunity of crowning the great site of the Cathedral with a building which will be in harmony with the Classic character of the Capitol, while conforming to the traditions of the Episcopal Church. George Washington worshipped in Christ Church, Alexandria, a building based on Classic principles — principles capable of the broadest development, applicable to all time and in conformity with the traditions of the Episcopal Church. Do, for Heaven's sake, let us stick to our traditions!

To this characteristic outpouring of faith and fact, the answer was:

June 12, 1906

My dear Charles: I can hardly agree with you that such building as was done by the Episcopal Church during a short period in George Third's reign, using the Renaissance style, forms a precedent for the continuance of it. The facts are that at the beginning of the Reformation and for one hundred and fifty years thereafter, the people worshipped in Gothic and old Norman structures, to which they were then and still are very deeply attached. I don't refer to the Dissenters.

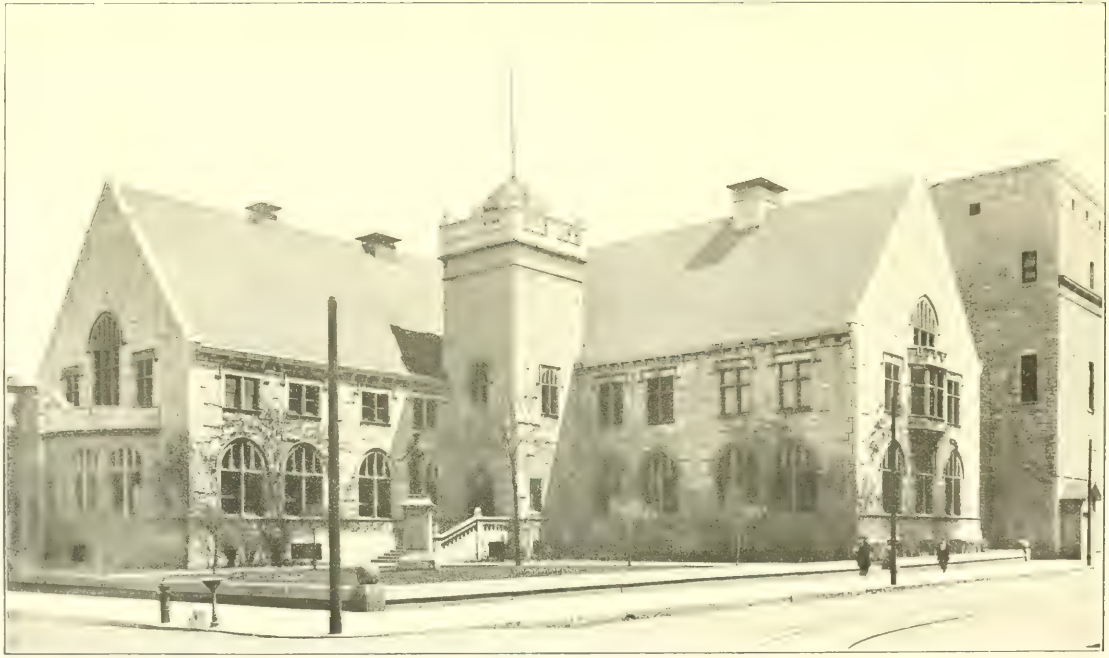
Will you tell me where to find the illustration of one English Renaissance church which you consider beautiful?

The answer came quickly:

June 18, 1906

My dear Daniel: I have received your letter of June 12th on returning to town to-day, and, in reply, we will both agree, I think, that the history of the buildings constructed by the Established Church of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is, with some few exceptions, one of the employment of Classic formulas. In our own country these traditions descended to us without exception.

The fact that at the beginning of the Reformation and for



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a hundred and fifty years thereafter, people worshipped in Gothic and Norman structures, and that they are still attached to these, is, as you say, true; but it is also true, that the Gothic and Norman buildings were buildings designed for the Roman Catholic service, and that the buildings erected under Episcopal rule have almost invariably, up to the time of the so-called Gothic revival, been Classic in form.

The two great figures of the Classic revival in England — Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren — stand for so many beautiful Renaissance churches, that I am at a loss to answer your question, and refer you to Birch, on "The Churches of the 17th and 18th Centuries in England."

To be more specific, I quote from Ferguson: "The great fire of London, in 1666, gave him (Wren) an opportunity of rebuilding St. Paul's, the largest and finest *Protestant* cathedral in the world, and some fifty other churches."

It seems to me that the importance of adherence to the principles of Classic composition was never more illustrated than in this particular instance; and I should like to repeat the conviction which we all share here,[1] contained in the next to the last paragraph of my letter of June 6th, that a noble opportunity is here presented of crowning the site of the Washington Cathedral with a building which will be in harmony with the Classic character of the Capitol, while conforming to the traditions of the Episcopal Church.

After all, we are referring, not so much to particular buildings, *as to the adoption of a style of architecture appropriate to the age*, in which I supposed we fully concurred.

For one, it would be impossible for me to subscribe to any departure into Mediæval Gothic.

Of course, I am writing to you confidentially, as one fellow to another, and feel that you will not misunderstand me.

Faithfully yours CHARLES F. MCKIM

[1] The "we" refers particularly to William R. Mead, Stanford White, and William M. Kendall. Mr. Mead told me that he suggested to Mr. McKim that whatever of Gothic the Episcopal Church has, it inherited from the Roman Catholics; its own early buildings by Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren were based on Classic traditions.

June 20, 1906

My dear Charles: I have yours of June eighteenth. At the bottom of the first page you quote from Ferguson, but I know you do not agree with him, although you use him as an authority. You do not consider St. Paul's as a great piece of work by any means, any more than I do. It is just about as "tough" on the inside as it could be made and the outside is imposing because of size, but is not a beautiful piece of work, although the dome is excellent in shape; but the principal thing that Ferguson says I do not agree with, "That it is the finest Protestant cathedral."

I think many of the Gothic English churches are far more beautiful. I mean many of the old English churches which are now Protestant cathedrals. In any case I do not think the traditions of the Episcopal Church in England is the Classic work, although this Classic work in England is one of its traditions. It is by no means the sole one and it is by no means the one which seems to accord most thoroughly with the lives of the people.

I have not been making an argument in favor of Gothic over Classic. I have been writing to you solely in regard to the use by the people of architecture with which they have comparatively little sympathy.

You may be sure that what you write me stops where it is and is not to be quoted under any circumstances.

I have just received a circular letter [1] from the Bishop of

[1] Bishop Satterlee's letter was as follows:

Bishop's House, Thomas Circle
Washington, D.C., June 13, '06

My dear Mr. Burnham: I reported to the Board of Trustees the opinion from your Advisory Committee:

First, That the Cathedral site should be on the highest ground of the Cathedral Close, and showed them upon the relief model the place that you indicated.

Second, That in your judgment it would be unwise to have any competition for the selection of an architect, and that you recommended that the Cathedral Chapter should select the man, and not the plan.

Third, That your Committee was divided as to the question whether the Classic or Gothic architecture would be the better.

Washington regarding the decision of his committee. I will let you know in a day or two what course it seems best to follow. I have not yet replied to him.

Yours as ever

D. H. BURNHAM

June 22, 1906

MY DEAR DANIEL: In answer to your letter of June 20th, just received, I can only reiterate my entire agreement with Ferguson's opinion concerning St. Paul's; namely, that "it is the finest of Protestant cathedrals." I should go even further, and say that I believe it to be the finest domed church since St. Peter's, and even the superior of the latter in external *ensemble*.

The enlarged photograph of St. Paul's, which, for many years, has hung on the wall of my room at the office, has been a source of constant pleasure and admiration to me, and sufficiently testifies to the sincerity of my real feelings on this subject.

Your position, that many of the old Gothic English churches are far more beautiful than their Classic successors, seems irrelevant in the discussion of the question of the selection of a style adapted to our age.

After careful consideration of this opinion, the Cathedral Chapter,

First, Approved of your recommendation that the Cathedral should be built on the higher ground, without determining the exact situation.

Second, Without taking any formal action they were strongly influenced by your opinion that in the selection of an architect, the first consideration would be the choice of a man and not a plan.

Third, They reaffirmed their former decision that the Cathedral should be Gothic in style.

In accordance with this action I am writing to each one of your Advisory Committee to ask if you will kindly suggest for consideration names of architects who, in your judgment, would be capable of building the kind of Gothic cathedral we need, in order that we may make inquiries during the summer and report to the Chapter in the autumn.

The Chapter desire through me to express their very grateful appreciation of the unselfish and valuable work that you have already done for us, and express the hope that we may have the privilege of your continued coöperation.

Faithfully yours

HENRY Y. SATTERLEE
Bishop of Washington

Referring to the history of the Episcopal Church, I note that you admit that "this Classic work in England is one of its traditions," and cannot understand, for a moment, how you can believe that the forms developed in mediæval times, and in accord with the life of that epoch, can "accord most thoroughly with the lives of the people" of to-day.

However, I have shot my bolt, and have said my say.

The circular letter from the Bishop of Washington, received a week ago, affirms their position, and leaves me no alternative, so far as I can see, but to retire gracefully from my place on the Advisory Board. Mind you, I have n't a particle of feeling about it, but on the other hand one of relief. The service was purely a labor of love and has been a great pleasure to me. My only sorrow is ever to have to disagree with you. Since my position will have to be explained to the Bishop, by all means make any use of my correspondence that you like.

As Mr. Low used to say, while we were building Columbia College, "a man can always give up everything in an argument but the *essence*." The "essence" here is a question of principle and conviction with me, to which I feel that I must adhere.

Faithfully yours

CHARLES F. MCKIM

On June 25 Mr. Burnham wrote to Bishop Satterlee:

MY DEAR BISHOP: I have delayed answering your letter of the thirteenth, because I have been in a quandary in regard to the style and also in regard to the selection of an architect.

I believe that Mr. McKim is entirely right and that the style of the cathedral should be Classic Renaissance. I have come to this conclusion because it is undoubtedly the best one for the city of Washington. A great cathedral founded upon Classic motives will harmonize with the Government buildings, which cannot be the case if Gothic architecture is used.

Does not the Chapter owe a higher duty in this regard, and should not the Church do that which is best for the general results in Washington?

It is perhaps true that most people love Gothic work, but

EDWARD H. BENNETT

that does not seem to be reason enough for a choice when there is such an opportunity for securing the best public order. In this country we need correction of our tendency to settle things on the basis of our own private feelings. We have not yet been ready enough to do what seems our public duty when it interferes with our private leanings. Might not this cathedral be made an object lesson?

You will undoubtedly agree with me that Gothic architecture could not have been properly chosen by us for the Government buildings, and that the selection we made in our report was the correct one.[1] This being the case, the mere fact that Church and State are legally separated in this country does not change the real quality of the Church itself. If anything it places it upon a still higher level and the Cathedral in Washington will be a Government building.

I know of but one man who would be likely to do the Cathedral in the right spirit, although undoubtedly there are many others. I speak of Edward Bennett, who is now in California laying out the San Francisco plan accurately. He was my assistant in that work and other things. He has a deep and reverent spirit, is a highly trained designer and draughtsman — a poet with his feet on the earth. I think he is about thirty-two years old.[2] I cannot recommend any man in large practice. The training of such an one would preclude his abandonment of himself to this great problem. The habits of a lifetime cannot be changed. I would not think of any old, or elderly man. Professor Moore says truly that there has been no Gothic for several centuries: this means that there are no trained Gothic designers, who have proven themselves by their executed works.

To sum up: all of us who are loaded with business have gone too far afield to permit of our getting back to good Gothic

[1] 57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report, No. 166; *Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia.*

[2] A copy of this letter was sent to Charles McKim, with the statement that in case of the selection of Mr. Bennett he would have to leave Mr. Burnham's employment, as the latter did not feel he could have anything to do with the building "because I am the Bishop's adviser in the matter."

thinking. If the style be Renaissance, then there will be a wider field to choose from.

Doing small gems is no proof that the same man could handle monumental work; but on the contrary experience has shown that the sort of architect who does the gems never succeeds in large things.

This letter reached Washington after Bishop Satterlee had sailed for Europe — driven to the German baths by overwork. So the epistle went to the Committee of the Chapter on the Cathedral. In a letter from Northeast Harbor, Maine, dated August 21, the bishop says:

My dear Mr. Burnham: At the last meeting of the Board of Trustees of Washington Cathedral, I reported the opinion which, on behalf of the Advisory Committee, you delivered to me on May fifth last, when you met on the Cathedral grounds, viz.:

First: that the best site for the Cathedral would be upon the higher ground, near the head of the slope, and at the point which you marked in pencil on the relief map.

Second: that your Committee strongly advised against the kind of architectural competition we had proposed: that, in your opinion, the paramount consideration was the personality of the architect — his religious ideals, his creative ability, architectural skill, culture and experience; his business capacity, accuracy, economy, promptness, management. I handed in the report at the last meeting of the Board, before the members separated for the summer.

Since its adjournment, some of the members have said to me that it would be better if we had had a written report to spread out on the minutes. And I am now writing to ask you, if you will kindly send me a brief résumé of what you said, that I may hand it to the Secretary of the Board.

Though the giving up of an architectural competition is in the face of what I myself have persistently held for over twenty years, I feel so strongly the cogency of the reason you advanced,

that a new perspective has been opened up before me, and I am most grateful to you and the other members of the Advisory Committee for the very great help you have afforded us.

With all warmth of regard, I am

Faithfully yours

HENRY Y. SATTERLEE
Bishop of Washington

This letter the bishop followed with another, dated August 27, in which he says:

MY DEAR MR. BURNHAM: I owe you a sincere apology for not answering your letter, or even mentioning it, in my note of last week. My excuse is that I had sailed for Europe when it was written (June 25th); that it was sent to the Committee of the Chapter "on the Cathedral" in my absence. And that I only received it from them to-day, as I have only recently returned from Germany.

We have read it with deep interest; and thank you for courtesy in setting forth so clearly and forcibly the reasons for building the Cathedral in the Classic Renaissance style: and if we still hold to our opinion, against the great weight of your own and Mr. McKim's architectural authority, it is because the trustees of the Cathedral have not adopted the Gothic without prolonged consideration. They have had the subject continuously in mind since 1895.

They feel the force and weight of the fact that in the Capital of the country the Government has adopted the Classic architecture for all its buildings. Another consideration has been peculiarly enhanced by the remarkable report of your Park Commission; but in the building of a Cathedral there is another consideration which surpasses even that of Monumental Unity.

First, last, and always, a Cathedral is a house of prayer for all people. That is our Lord's own description of a church as given in the gospels; and experience has plainly shown that the Gothic is the distinctively religious and Christian style of architecture which, among all sorts and conditions of men has

always inspired prayer and devotional feeling. We also believe that, if the Cathedral is Gothic, the contrast between it and the magnificent Classic buildings of Washington will be no loss, but a positive gain in effect.

With all warmth of regard, I am

Faithfully yours

HENRY Y. SATTERLEE

Copies of these two "very interesting letters" Mr. Burnham sent to Charles McKim, who had sailed for Europe on August 1.

On November 26 Bishop Satterlee wrote Mr. Burnham that George F. Bodley, of London, and Henry Vaughan, of Boston, had been appointed associate architects for preliminary plans for Washington Cathedral, which announcement called forth the following letter from Mr. Burnham:

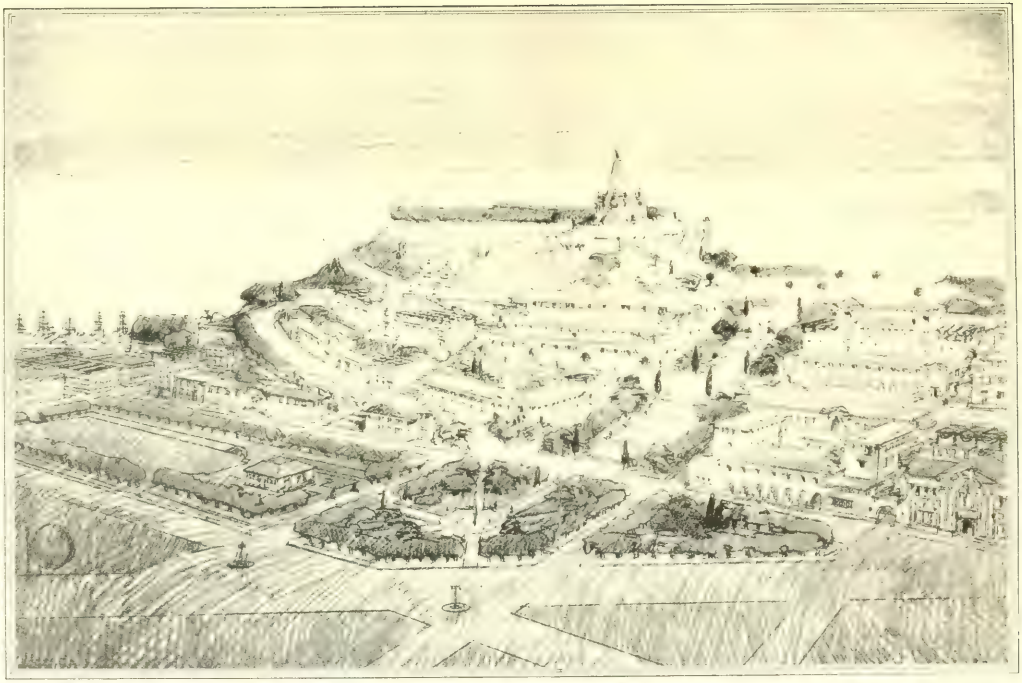
Chicago, November 28, 1906

MY DEAR BISHOP: Thank you very much for your letter of November twenty-sixth.

I am very glad indeed to recognize that the committee has decided to build on the higher site. I am extremely sorry to learn that the Chapter has taken the inferior course of appointing two distinguished architects, instead of one man of genius. This will surely result in a cold and unsatisfactory building.

Gothic having been determined upon, Professor Moore's analysis, submitted last spring, should be followed. There is no doubt that the Gothic he mentioned is far more beautiful than any other. The late Gothic is extremely stiff and inexpressive and should not be countenanced. I say this after a very careful examination of the principal Gothic cathedrals of France and England last winter.

There has been no Gothic work done in the last two centuries. What has been so called is not Gothic in any sense, and I still strongly advise the committee, after having received the sketches which they have employed the two architects to produce, to find a young man of genius who can live with this



SUGGESTED ARCHITECTURAL TREATMENT OF TELEGRAPH HILL, SAN FRANCISCO
Drawing by Edward H. Bennett

job and make it his exclusive life-work. By this means, and by this means only, can you hope to obtain a great monument founded upon strong, initial poetic feeling. I repeat emphatically that your present course will produce a compromise between the two men employed, and unless the great French period be adhered to the work will be a failure. I write this to you, not as a reply to the committee, but because of my personal attachment to yourself, formed very quickly at our meetings in Washington.

There is no charge for travelling expenses or hotel services.

Yours with respect

D. H. BURNHAM

P.S. You realize without my saying it, that I could not, either directly or indirectly, have to do with the designing of a cathedral, and that, therefore, my advice is dictated by a sense of your best interest. D. H. B.

On November 29 Mr. Vaughan (whose name stood first because he was ranked as an American architect, although he had been a pupil of Mr. Bodley) and his principal appeared in Washington to submit sketches.[1] Mr. Bodley sailed for England on December 5, having been in America only about one week. While the bishop was pleased with the sketches, he ventured to hint to Mr. Bodley that Washington Cathedral would ultimately become "the representative cathedral of our own church in the capital of the country"; and that "the time is not yet, but is bound to come at some future day, when we must have archbishoprics in America," provision for which event had been made in "the constitution of the Chapter." Also he looked forward to the time when

[1] In 1906 Mr. Bodley was commissioned to design both the Washington and the San Francisco Cathedrals, as well as one in India. He had never designed a cathedral, and his best work had been done several years before his American commissions. See *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, February 19, 1910, p. 330.

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, etc. (who "in bygone centuries had separated from the Church of England, because in those days, the Church of England was not wise enough to recognize their deeply religious character and treated them as it treated John Bunyan, George Fox, Thomas Brown, Robert Cartwright, John Wesley, and others from whom these religious bodies have descended") might come back into the fold. He therefore suggested that the stained-glass windows of the aisles "might represent some intensely interesting and religious scenes of American history." He suggested Washington reading the burial service over General Braddock's forest grave, the baptism of Pocahontas and other scenes "dear to the hearts of Puritans, Presbyterians, and Methodists," as a means of making the Cathedral "not only religious, but also National." [1]

Mr. Bodley demurred at stained-glass Washingtons and Pocahontases, because modern costumes look so bad in stained glass, and the modern character would not assimilate with the others they would want; and he suggested statues or carved panels of historical figures. Later Mr. Bodley wrote the bishop: "The keynote of the whole thing is yours. You gave the inspiration, though, as you say, it is pleasant to think we have worked together." This was in reply to many suggestions of symbolism in the towers. Then in April came Mr. Bodley's and Mr. Vaughan's report, which called forth this approval: "The report shows that we have the same ideal, and that the architects, Bishop, and Chapter unite in one hope and one aspiration that Washington Cathedral may breathe the atmosphere of the triumph of the Christian Faith." In June Mr.

[1] Satterlee to Bodley, in *A Master-Builder*, p. 427.

Bodley's plans came, and with them Mr. Vaughan to explain them. To the bishop they were "a revelation"; nevertheless he thought the west towers low and the choir not raised high enough. He thought, too, that the red stone selected was entirely too dark, and preferred the shade of stone shown in the water-color sketches which were "close to the color of the Alhambra."

The bishop was not the first, nor the last, person to be carried away by a water-color perspective, and to imagine that the completed structure would produce the same effect as the rendering. However, on June 18 the plans were accepted, and on the same day the bishop wrote to each member of the Advisory Committee this letter:

My dear Sir: The Cathedral Chapter and myself can never be sufficiently grateful to you for the very valuable help that you gave us as our Advisory Committee.

Your advice regarding the proper site of the Cathedral has been followed by us strictly, and we have reason to see now, if never before, the profound wisdom in the choice.

If there have been differences between us regarding the architectural style, it is because from the very beginning the foregone conclusion was that the Cathedral should be Gothic.

I am herewith sending you a copy of the report of the Architects who were chosen to prepare a design, and I am glad to say that that design has met our ideal in every way, so completely, that it has been unanimously accepted by the Bishop, the Cathedral Chapter, and also unanimously approved by the Cathedral Council or larger Chapter.

I am sending you photographs of the exterior and interior of the proposed Washington Cathedral and beg your acceptance of them.

Gratefully yours

H. Y. Satterlee

To this Mr. Burnham made reply:

Chicago, July 27, 1907

DEAR BISHOP: The design of the Washington Cathedral, as it appears in the drawings and text of an article in the July number of the "Inland Architect," has deeply disappointed me. While I could not at my age become a Gothic architect, and would not attempt it, still I feel that I ought to say to you that a close study of the cathedrals of England and France during April, May, and June of this year has forced upon me certain conclusions which I believe should be fundamental in the designing of a Gothic monument.

If you will go over the ground as I have done, taking with you some highly trained American Gothic scholar, I feel sure that you will arrive at the same conclusions.

No citizen can fail to be concerned when a great monument is to be built in the National Capital. Moreover, I deeply wish that your building may, for your own sake, take its place with the noblest work of man's hands.

Can you not let the designing rest on its oars and once more re-study the whole subject? Charles H. Moore should be with you. No one else begins to have the thorough command of the subject that he has. He possesses a perfectly clear, scholarly intellect, and he knows every cathedral in the world. He is, moreover, a most sincere man, placed in life so that his interest in this subject cannot be a personal one in any respect. This suggestion is made without the slightest intimation to or from him. It represents what I am confident is your deepest interest.

I had two good scholars with me and we carried the American, English, and French authorities. We travelled by automobile, deliberately, from cathedral to cathedral, using the entire time on them. My first visit to a number of them was, as you know, made in 1906. It awakened in me little more than general appreciation, but this last journey has been an eye-opener, and I have come home feeling that the architects of Chartres, Amiens, and Notre Dame were among the greatest artists that ever lived. I often wished you were with me and I now beg and implore you to go over as soon as you can in order that you

may be able to carry into effect the impression you will inevitably receive. I am sure you will soon feel as I do if you go with a ripe Gothic scholar who is, first of all, and all the time, a logician.

I do not think that any Englishman can possibly do justice to the French Gothic designers, but our American scholars, who are the closest architectural thinkers of the day, are broad-minded and ready to see the best, no matter where they find it. This state of mind is seldom to be found abroad.

Yours very sincerely

D. H. BURNHAM

Bishop Satterlee replied from Cazenovia, New York, on August 13:

MY DEAR MR. BURNHAM: I have read and re-read your letter with the deepest interest and want to thank you with all my heart for your generous sympathy in the Cathedral of Washington, and the kind suggestions which you have made regarding it. I appreciate also the great responsibility that is resting upon us in building a Cathedral in the Capital of the country.

But I am afraid that we have now gone too far to retrace our steps, for the Cathedral designs have been carefully considered. We have thought of little else during the past year, the architects met the Bishop and Chapter in prolonged conferences, I myself suggested, nearly a year ago, all the points which I wished to have especially considered; and finally the designs were accepted unanimously both by the Chapter and the greater Chapter of the Cathedral.

There has not been a dissenting voice. I realize all you say about the grandeur of the French Cathedrals; but if they are superior in some points to those of England, it always has seemed to me that they are inferior in others. The proportion of parts is different and has always been to my mind less devotional on the whole for religious purposes; and this religious idea that the Cathedral should be a witness for the triumph of the Christian Faith in the ascended and reigning Christ has been our ruling thought.

I am sorry that you did not receive the plans and report of the Architects when I sent them the beginning of last June; I wrote to Washington and found that my secretary had overlooked my directions and had not forwarded them until about three weeks ago.

With all warmth of regard, believe me, my dear Mr. Burnham,

Ever faithfully yours

HENRY Y. SATTERLEE

Mr. Bodley died on October 21, 1907. The verdict of his contemporaries is summed up by Edward Warren, in a paper read before the Royal Institute: "He was a pioneer, and if he survived his period and ignored the current phases of his later days, we can accept him gladly as such and recognize the steady purpose and fine achievements of his long and honorable career." Had Mr. Bodley lived, and had he been able to carry out his own ideas of color and sumptuousness in the face of opposition, he might have achieved on a large scale a success comparable with that he won in his smaller churches. On November 5 the Bodley executors cabled a request to await their letter before coming to any decision about the Cathedral. The letter represented that Mr. Cecil Hare and the Bodley executors desired to continue the work. The answer was that "the arrangement with Messrs. Bodley and Vaughan had expired, the work for which they were employed having been accomplished." Assurance was given that the plans were most satisfactory and that the Chapter felt that "this will be the most beautiful cathedral on the American continent."

Bishop Satterlee died on Washington's birthday, 1908, and was buried in the Little Sanctuary, where the body will rest until the cathedral is ready to receive it beneath the Jerusalem

THE WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL

Altar, which will be his tomb. Mr. Vaughan died and is also buried in the Little Sanctuary. Meantime no architect has been selected to go on with the work.

Mr. McKim's objections to the use of Gothic architecture for a cathedral in Washington were by no means due to lack of admiration for the great cathedrals of Europe. While a student in Paris he and a group of fellow-students made a pilgrimage to Chartres, carrying with them a copy of James Russell Lowell's poem, "The Cathedral," then just published. Climbing into one of the cathedral towers, they read the poem. After McKim's return he happened to see Mr. Lowell in a hotel dining-room; with the audacious modesty of youth he introduced himself to the poet and told him of the Chartres incident. "Ah, yes," said Mr. Lowell, with enigmatic suavity, "we poets sing of cathedrals; you architects build them!" Mr. McKim felt vehemently that it is as impossible to revive the architecture of the Middle Ages as it is to revive the spirit and the habits of those times.

To Mr. Burnham the Gothic appealed as archæology; and its mysteries touched chords in his own mystical temperament. But when the question arose as to the suitability of the Gothic for a cathedral in Washington, he was at one with his colleague, McKim. The dome of St. Peter's, towering over the multitude of lesser domes in Rome, the majesty of the plaza with its colonnade and fountains, always impressed him as the constituent parts of a great entity. In like manner he felt the serene majesty of Sir Christopher Wren's dome of St. Paul's, with its outreaching smaller domes, centring the vast city of London, and representing visibly the heart and soul of Britain — the sepulture of its noblest servants, the place of the na-

tion's mourning, consecration, and rejoicing. Especially did he recognize the fact that these world-known structures architecturally as well as spiritually are part and parcel of the cities whose chief ornament they are.

Perhaps Bishop Lawrence best expressed the modern conception of the cathedral when he wrote:[1]

The cathedrals of Europe, built under totally different conditions from those in this age and country, stand for what they have been and are, for great good and some evil. If, however, we American churchmen build our cathedrals under the bondage of European traditions, we shall be in danger of making them an irksome burden upon the community, and a cause not of good-will, but of public envy and of atheism. Lawful socialism and lawless anarchy look with critical eye upon the use of people's money, and even a holy purpose and noble architecture will not justify extravagant expenditure. We will, if we are wise, meet one of the tests of true architecture, in our answer to the question: Will the cathedral as planned be a fitting building in that particular city? Does it so adjust itself to the traditions and customs of the people that, while it is more beautiful than other buildings, it belongs among them? The Lamp of Truth will not shine from a church which thrusts itself upon the sight of the people and demands of them admiration because of its cost or bigness or its garish inconsistency with the history and habits of the people. The true architect will not import his ground plan and elevation wholesale from another country, or even a neighboring city, but will have the originality to build a church which fits into that city and that city only.

The apse of the Washington Cathedral stands out strongly against the western sky, a feature in the landscape. From this small fraction of a great whole, from its mass and scale, from

[1] *The American Cathedral*, by the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts.

its mouldings and traceries and enrichments, those learned in matters architectural can form their own judgment as to the merits of the controversy; while persons concerned with the effects of highly organized, intensive religion on the community will watch with interest the development of the cathedral idea in the national capital.

CHAPTER XXII

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

1908

THE year 1908 opened dolefully. In reply to New Year's greetings, McKim from a sick-bed dictated a letter he was not able to sign, in which he sends back "ten-fold your greetings, with good wishes for this year and many years to come." A few days later he sent without comment a page from a Washington evening paper of January 14, containing a series of articles attacking the Washington plans, which are stigmatized as "a showy-sham, the concoction of a sham commission — so Congress characterized the plans of the so-called Park Commission." The ire of the newspaper was aroused by the action of the Washington architects in calling a meeting to further the improvement project, which action the journal referred to as an attempt "to galvanize into a semblance of life a tasteless, decadent, enormously expensive, utterly impracticable scheme that, as Senator Hale says, 'fell absolutely dead the moment Senators and Representatives began to examine it.' It was dead in 1902, and it is dead now." A cartoon by Berryman showed the "group of Lenôtre-McKim tree-butchers and nature-butchers: Architect McKim, Architect Burnham, Architect Glenn Brown, Architect Green, Architect Hornblower, Architect Donn on their way with axes to make a clean-sweep, as they proclaim, of all the grand old trees on the Mall. They are costumed in architectural straight lines. Architect McKim heads the party. He is blowing a big

GROUP OF LE NOTRE-McKIM TREE BUTCHERS AND NATURE-BUTCHERS.

Architect McKim, Architect Burnham, Architect Glenn Brown, Architect Green, Architect Hazelhurst, Architect Donn.

CARTOON BY BERRYMAN IN THE WASHINGTON "EVENING STAR" OF JANUARY 11, 1908

horn — his own. He also has a big head. Architect Donn will be recognized by his conceited upturned nose. In the rear are men bearing a great number of tubbed trees intended to replace the big trees destroyed. For further particulars inquire within."

Burnham wrote to McKim:

January 18, 1908

My dear Charles: I am delighted this morning to get a fine picture of you, published in the Washington "Evening Star," under date of January 14th. I presume that you sent it yourself. I shall have a large gilt frame made for it and hang it up with care, and mention it in my will "to be placed in the National Hall of Fine Arts, when I die." It is a striking likeness and I think that your friends will feel that it does you every justice. Can you tell me who the artist is? The text is particularly gratifying. It is so sweet and discriminating. It ought to be a great satisfaction to any one engaged in public work, to gain such recognition from a representative paper published at the capital.

I remain with great respect, etc.

Frank Millet wrote:

January 29, 1908

Dear Dan: Since your welcome letter reached me just before New Year's, I have had several setbacks and one particular trouble, the loss of my first and best friend, my mother. You remember her, I know. She was one of the real, old sort; and not only by her family, but by a host of friends, is her death lamented and her unselfish life praised and commended. I will tell you some time what she did to make others happy, for this was her constant endeavor.

The grip has had me in its clutches for several weeks and has left that peculiar depression of spirit which is so hard to bear. However, I am never blue for long, for I won't say die, and will keep at my work as hard as I can.

I know you will be sorry to hear that Charles Follen is in a bad way. Indeed, I have never seen him so bad nervously.

He is now in Greenwich, Connecticut, in a sanitorium, and we hope shortly to persuade him to go to Bethel, Maine. . . . In consequence of his disability I have more than I can do with the Academy and the Niagara Committee, and very often think I must give up these outside things or, like the Scotch parson at golf, "gie up the mineestry." I find it impossible to work in New York, and now, since the papers have got on to my game here, I am bothered to death in Washington also. How you stand it I can't see. Energy? Lord, what a superabundance of it you have!

Yours affectionately

FRANK

To McKim Burnham writes:

Chicago, February 10, 1908

MY DEAR CHARLES: Why do you not write oftener? We should draw a little closer together as we get along in years. I need a word from you now and then. You cannot be excused from sending it. The eyes grow old and the brain tired, but the heart must do neither.

The grind goes on; but I keep my hands off nowadays and let the youngsters go to it in the arena, while I sit up on the benches.

Not having heard from McKim for some time, Burnham wrote from his summer home at Charlevoix, Michigan:

27 *August*, 1908

MY DEAR CHARLES: There is little time in which I am not thinking of you, and always with affection. Since we met both of us have been laid up. My trouble was a poisoned foot, that kept me on my back for three months, and again a month more in a hospital to get over an operation. I am now in this northern neck of the woods for a time, until September 20th.

While we cannot expect to go down in the arena again with the same old vigor, I feel that both of us have very valuable work to do — perhaps the most valuable of our lives.

I am especially anxious to have you go over the Chicago Plan studies. It would be a very great relief to me to know that you

deemed them good. We are putting the work in print, and Charles Moore is editing for me. We *always* talk of you.

Can you come out and stay with me in late September or early October, or both? If you will, I will give up all the time and we will golf and auto and sleep; and you will be with a man who cares very much for you and who cannot get along without you.

Yours ever

DAN

Burnham wrote also to McKim's partner, William R. Mead:

Sunday, 6 September, 1908

DEAR MEAD: I have recently written to McKim — a sort of love letter, but not at all regarding business. Do you think it would be wise to bring up some Washington matters with him? And could he go into them with me? They relate to the setting of the station and its connection with the Capitol grounds.

The last year has been broken by a long confinement in my case as with McKim. I am getting strong and fit again, but no one can expect after sixty to be just what he was before. And yet one feels the onus of finishing up the things in hand. How are you?

On October 29 Burnham lunched with William R. Mead in New York and together they motored to Greenwich, Connecticut, where McKim was under treatment. They were met by Miss Margaret McKim and there was a brief visit. The disease, hardening of the arteries, had progressed so far that only at intervals came flashes of the old interest and intelligence. The command of memory was gone, and the interview was sad and depressing to Burnham.

Two days later Mr. and Mrs. Burnham, with Mr. and Mrs. Albert Wells, embarked on the Baltic and sailed for Liverpool. After a look at the new and popular housing scheme near Liverpool, known as "Sunlight Village," the party went on to Lon-

don, where they were met by Frederick Law Olmsted, and Frank Foster, of the Chicago South Parks system. The entire party made study trips to Bushy Park, Burnham Beeches, and Windsor Great Park, and then went over to Paris to pursue their inspections at Saint-Germain, Versailles, and the Luxembourg Gardens. Then the Burnham party made a hasty trip to Frankfort, Jena, and Berlin; and December 16 found them domiciled at the Grand Hotel in Rome, where they found Mrs. Judith Johnson and Miss Judith Waller of Chicago. The Diary records:

December 25. Up at 8.15 A.M. Sent telegram to T. N. Ely at Paris and then all had breakfast in our rooms — two Burnhams, two Wellses, and two Judys; a very happy time of it. "Molta festa!" the Italian salutation of all the servants. Took carriages and went through the Villa Borghese. Then to lunch in our rooms. We six dined in the hotel and heard music in the sitting-room afterwards. Then bridge. Bed at 1.30 A.M.

The next day Mr. Ely appeared; and then began a series of visits to the American Academy in Rome, where Mr. Breck was in charge as the director. Mr. and Mrs. Breck were installed in the Villa Mirafiore and there were daily dinners and teas mingled with long discussions as to the conduct of the Academy in view of McKim's inability to go on with the work.

The New Year of 1909 found the Burnhams lingering in Rome and making excursions to Frascati and Tivoli, and visiting at the Academy with the hospitable Brecks, with Theodore Ely and his two daughters, Mr. and Mrs. S. A. B. Abbott, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hastings, the Reams, and the Wallers. For guide about Rome they had Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, then the head of the American School of Classical Studies, and

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

afterwards director of the combined School and Academy.[1] Their thirty-third wedding anniversary was spent between Paris and London, whither they proceeded by way of the Riviera. In London they visited the exhibition of the works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and on the 29th they sailed for home on the Celtic.

The American Academy in Rome, organized in 1894, the year following the Chicago Fair, owes its success to the fraternal feelings and the ambitions for American art then engendered among the artists. The idea originated with Charles McKim, who broached it to his partner, William R. Mead, and to W. M. Kendall, A. W. Lord, and W. A. Boring, members of his office force. Together the four formulated the plan, and then McKim appealed to Burnham, Saint-Gaudens, French, La Farge, and others, who were drawn in, one by one. Support meant not only sympathy, but contributions as well; and during its early years of struggle and vicissitude the institution was maintained by the architects and their personal friends.

Modelled after the French Academy established by Colbert in the reign of Louis XIV, the new institution was first called "The American School of Architecture in Rome"; and its purpose was to enable American students of established proficiency to develop their powers under the most favorable conditions of direction and surroundings. The students, selected by competition, received a stipend of about one thousand dollars a year.

[1] Dr. Carter was director of the School of Classical Studies, 1907–12; and director of the Academy from 1913 till his death, July 20, 1917. Frederic Crowninshield, the director from 1909 till 1911, died September 11, 1918. The present director is Gorham P. Stevens. The other directors have been Samuel A. B. Abbott, Austin W. Lord, Will S. Aldrich, George W. Breck, H. Siddons Mowbray, and Francis D. Millet.

The school having given promise of success during the first three years, its scope was widened to include painting and sculpture and thereby the basis of support was enlarged. The name was changed to "The American Academy in Rome." After a short sojourn in the Palazzo Torlonia, the school secured the Villa dell' Aurora, situated on the Pincian Hill, not far from the superb Villa Medici, the home of the French Academy. Here the school was housed during the time of Mr. Burnham's first and second visits to Rome. The grounds, once a part of the Villa Ludovisi, and laid out after Lenôtre's designs, comprised about two acres, well planted, and elevated about twenty feet above the surrounding streets.

The founders of the Academy were convinced that it was of importance to the development of art in America that students, before entering upon their professional careers, should study thoroughly and upon the spot typical monuments of antiquity and such works of the Italian Renaissance as are worthy to be ranked with them. The Greeks were the greatest artists of antiquity; and the reservoir of Greek art is Rome, where "the noble buildings are a forest; the animals of bronze, a herd; the statues, a population of marble." During the Renaissance Rome called all Italy to her service, "spread upon her walls in the Vatican Stanze and the Sistine Chapel the most famous of all frescoes, and built the most important church of Christendom." Moreover, Rome is the centre for the study of the remains of art in Sicily and Greece.

Organized under a New York charter, the Academy felt the need of a national charter in order to secure the same recognition from the Italian Government that the schools of other nations were enjoying. A bill for this purpose was introduced in

the Senate by Senator McMillan, who became one of the trustees; and after his death the legislation was fathered by Senator Wetmore, of Rhode Island; but in the House of Representatives the opposition of Mr. Cannon[1] delayed action until 1905, when the Academy was chartered by Congress, Mr. Burnham being one of the incorporators. Villa Mirafiore was occupied from 1904 until 1914, when the School removed to its present location, the Villa Aurelia, a property bequeathed by Mrs. Heyland, an American resident in Rome. Villa Aurelia stands upon the summit of the Janiculum, the highest point within Roman walls; and from its terraces one sees the dome of St. Peter's, and the entire city of Rome, from Monte Mario to the tombs on the Appian Way. In 1912 the School of Classical Studies was consolidated with the Academy, largely at the instance of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, who gave additional land and aided with the new buildings. He was in the midst of this work when death overtook him.

Of the little group who founded the American Academy in Rome and who supported it with money and enthusiasm, C. Grant La Farge has written: "It was in the fertile brain of that most distinguished ornament of American architecture, Charles F. McKim, that the idea was born; under his fervor and enthusiasm, together with that of Daniel Burnham, it took shape; to their unswerving devotion to this idea, their gifts to it of time and money; to their inspiring example; to Frank Millet's unselfish service, ending only in his tragic death in that

[1] Speaker Cannon's opposition was based on the erroneous supposition that a national charter was sought for the purpose of securing an appropriation from Congress. Having been assured that such was not the intention he prepared an amendment prohibiting such action, and then permitted the bill to pass the House.

very service; and to the adherence of such others as La Farge and Saint-Gaudens, now gone, Mowbray, French, and Blashfield, happily still with us, this fruition is due. Begun by two such princes of architecture as McKim and Burnham, it naturally took an architectural form, but the rest soon followed."

Possibly no service rendered by Mr. Burnham to American art will live longer or produce more far-reaching results than will his labors on behalf of the American Academy in Rome.

The full account of the founding of the school has yet to be written. Some of the difficulties that beset the project of supporting a school and at the same time raising an endowment fund of one million dollars, will appear in the correspondence.[1]

The first letter is in answer to an appeal from McKim:

Chicago, May 7, 1894

My dear Charles: I sent out five or six short letters to men here regarding the project for an atelier in Rome. Two responses have come in. One from Glessner and one from Higinbotham, both agreeing to subscribe one hundred dollars.

I called together the men named in your letter, with whom you said you had communicated direct, namely, the architects you know here; Jenney, Adler, and Beman responded. They have just left my office.

We have selected about twenty men, to whom we will go during the next two or three days, each of the architects charging himself with a given number. I think we will raise and send you two thousand dollars this week.

[1] Some idea of the amount of thought given by Mr. McKim may be learned from his daily letters to Charles Moore, then secretary of the Academy. The correspondence, including the Senate act, with Mr. Cannon's autographic amendments, is in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress.

VIEW FROM THE VILLA AURELIA, SHOWING THE STATUE OF GARIBALDI AND THE DOME OF ST. PETER'S

May 29, 1894

MY DEAR CHARLES: I saw Ellsworth just now. He has subscribed to the Roman fund, and is very much pleased to do it. He will send a check to-day, which I will forward. I will push the rest of the subscriptions.

Chicago, June 8, 1894

DEAR CHARLES: I herewith enclose you another one hundred dollar check, to be applied to the atelier fund. This one is sent in by Mr. Franklin MacVeagh. I wrote him quite a long time ago, asking for a subscription, but for some reason he overlooked the letter until a few days since when he sent me a note apologizing for his oversight, and asking if it was too late to send in check. My secretary wrote him to the effect that a check would be very acceptable at this date.

For ten years the school was maintained through the persistency of McKim in raising money among his wealthy friends and the contributions of himself, Burnham, and a few others. The situation in Washington is set forth in McKim's letters.

En route Garnett, South Carolina
March 13, 1905

MY DEAR DANIEL: Mr. Taft inquired for news of you to-day,[1] and expressed a desire to hear from you. There was a rumor in New York, Friday, that you had returned, but I was unable to enlighten the Secretary or verify it. Welcome home whenever this reaches you and congratulations on your safe return; and be sure that none will be more interested than I in what you have seen and done. I have thought of you many times during the past months.

[1] On March 16, Secretary Taft wired Burnham:

"I congratulate you on your safe return [from the Philippines] and express the gratitude I feel to you for the self-sacrifice you have made for the public good. I am greatly interested to hear from your lips the account of your trip and to examine your tracings and get your matured judgment on the problem that you went out to aid us in. With great respect and personal regards.

"WILLIAM H. TAFT."

In the meantime much has transpired since your departure. By an overwhelming vote Theodore was elected, and last week inaugurated amid scenes of triumph and public acclaim, with a great military and naval pageant equal to Aldershot or Longchamps. I had never witnessed an Inaugural before, nor has there been another in our history to compare with it. We have a great Chief Executive, and, a second time, a great Secretary of War — William H. Taft: Civilizer.

That will be good enough, and none too good for his gravestone.

After two years of siege, Congress, on the 28th of February, passed our bill, and the American Academy in Rome became incorporated as a national body; and is now legally started on its career by act of Congress.

In November last Henry Walters, one of the trustees, purchased the beautiful Villa Mirafiore just outside the Porta Pia, as a permanent home for the Academy. In the month of December, Pierpont Morgan headed the list of ten founders ($100,000 each) with $100,000. Walters immediately followed with the same amount and became the second founder. W. K. Vanderbilt promptly followed and became the third founder. Shortly afterwards, on February 24th, through the instrumentality of Henry L. Higginson, Harvard University became the fourth founder, and now at the Academy dinner to be given by the Trustees to the Incorporators, with Mr. Walters as our principal guest, it is to be hoped that $100,000, given in the name of Columbia University, will enable the Trustees to announce half a million of the whole million necessary to place the Academy on the same plane as the French Academy in the Villa Medici.

The dinner takes place at the University Club, New York, at eight o'clock on the 25th, and if you are not there, there will be trouble; for everybody from Saint-Gaudens and La Farge to the writer looks to you to make the tour of the committee in the West a success. The Trustees hope for one founder in Washington, or perhaps Rome itself, two in the Middle West, one in the Northwest, and one in the Far West, California.

Already men and women are at work in these two last-named districts.

I am going South for one week's rest. Garnett, South Carolina, will catch me up to Saturday the 18th. I am sending you with this from Richmond a telegram, anticipating my letter from Washington to-day. An important one as you will see. To use the President's own words, "The Senate Park Commission is dead." To-day, largely through the instrumentality of Taft, he appointed (awaiting the 59th Congress in the interim) a new commission to consist of the members of the Senate Park Commission with B. R. Green added. I had some hand in this, acting with Saint-Gaudens's and Moore's approval, after a consultation with Uncle Joe.

It was also a gratifying wind-up, after months of struggle with the Secretary of Agriculture, to win and secure the President's approval of the site from which Wilson had departed, obliging him to lower the grade ten feet and place his building in the centre of Twelfth to Fourteenth Streets, instead of centring on Thirteenth. He had broken ground, but the President stopped him.

All right to-day. Much more when we meet. Be on hand 25th June. Yours exhaustedly

McKim

March 13, 1905

Dear Dan'l: I omitted to say that the Senate Park Commission no longer existing, it will be necessary for us to meet (the new Commission, including Green) at an early hour to-day. I have had to bear the brunt for months — time, expense, and worry — and there must be an end to what has become too heavy a load. Some other understanding must be reached.

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

Chicago, March 16, 1905

My dear Charles: Your letter, written on the train, announcing that the "Senate Commission is dead" and that you "are going to reorganize another one the next day," is received.

I am sorry you have had the worry all to yourself this winter; but as you know, there is no gain without the pain accompanying the getting there. The news you sent is good and I congratulate you most heartily.

Please send me a statement of your expenditure on these public matters, and I will send you at once my check for half the sum or more with great pleasure. Also please state my share of the expense of the dinner to come (as one of the trustees). I expect to be present at the dinner, but am not sure. Meanwhile I am thinking of you now as always, and you are a rock of friendship and loyalty.

I am pushed hard to-day, but want to send this line at once. The Manila plan is bully.

Yours as ever

D. H. BURNHAM

McKim to Burnham

Sunday, March 26, 1905

MY DEAR DAN'L: I was greatly disappointed not to have had an opportunity to have five minutes' talk with you last night after the ball,[1] when Saint-Gaudens, Millet, Ely, Barney, Green, and I went off in real old Chicago style and had supper at the "Brook," getting to bed at three o'clock. I had and have much to say to you about the Academy, and more still outside of it.

Moreover, the chaff I sent across the table at you was for the purpose of getting some heavy artillery back later on, and lo! you went off, disappeared, and we lost you and missed you, and you missed some of the best speaking, according to the unanimous consent of all concerned, that has been heard for many a day — the company not dispersing until 1.10 A.M.

Now, this is to say that if you don't come back and let yourself be seen quietly at dinner with me to meet a half-dozen of your old friends here, you may look for them sooner than you expect to appear at the "Wellington," or the "Richelieu," or

[1] The dinner of the American Academy in Rome at the University Club, New York.

"Kinsley," and dine with you. What do you say? I want to hear and see with my own eyes your plans for San Francisco and Manila. Yours faithfully

C. F. McK.

P.S. Yale entered the arena last night and there is every prospect that both universities will become founders, making seven. Columbia is already practically assured of several subscriptions.[1] C. F. McK.

D. H. B. to Charles McKim

Chicago, March 29, 1905

My dear Charles: I forwarded your letter to Dr. Harper this morning, enclosed with one of my own. He is ill at Lakewood in the house of Mr. Rockefeller, but as neither Mr. Ryerson nor Mr. Hutchinson, who are trustees of the Chicago University, is in the city, I have not ventured to break in on Dr. Harper's retirement, and have told him that you would communicate with him at once, sending the proper literature. The initiative in anything of this sort, when the action of the Chicago University is in question, should be taken to Dr. Harper himself. I enclose a copy of the letter I have written to him.

Chicago, April 4, 1905

Dear Charles: I have a letter from Dr. Harper and send you a copy herewith. He does not feel that he can raise $100,000 for the University of Chicago to become a "Founder," though I have offered to contribute toward a fund.

At the moment everybody is away from town. Nearly all of our people are either in the South or in California; and it is a bad time to attempt to do anything and will be for sixty days to come. I shall, however, undertake the work and do the best I can, though I may not succeed in giving close time and attention to it, but it will be foolish to try to drive it through now.

I do not know whether Dr. Harper would see you or not. If

[1] As it happened, among the universities only Harvard qualified — through the gift of Major Higginson.

he would it might be worth while to go over to Lakewood. I expect to see Mr. Frick soon. I talked with him about this matter a year ago, since which time I have scarcely seen him. As we now have a large building of his in our office, I shall be obliged to see him soon, and shall take the matter up with him again. I am going to California in about three weeks, to be gone two or possibly three weeks, all told, and if I can do you any good there, I shall be only too delighted to use my best influence.

By-the-by I had 1000 prints of the Mall made at my own expense, one of which I enclose you. It was printed in order to make clear the real reason of the design, namely, as per note printed on the face of the map. These chromos were sent out by the Associated Press, the manager of which is a personal friend of mine, and have been since the first of the year in the hands of the 800 most prominent newspapers in the country.

Yours as ever

D. H. BURNHAM

C. F. McKim to D. H. B.

Chicago, May 17, 1905

DEAR DAN'L: On reflection, and I think you will agree, your introduction, referring to the Academy movement, as the outcome of the Fair, makes it obviously necessary to proceed with some explanation of the subject of the evening at once, and not leave it to the lantern-slide period later on.

Moreover, Frank will want to make fun and hilarity and merriment, and had better be left unembarrassed to do it in his own way. He can answer any questions at the time of showing the slides and give us all the further detailed information that may be desired, but I have a kind of feeling that he may not present the Academy platform quite seriously enough, as though it were our Bible, and I have therefore hacked and cut at it and will proceed along the California lines as on the whole safest, unless you object. I will be at your office at 10.30 with Saint-Gaudens and Millet.

Thine

C. F. McK.

STAINED-GLASS WINDOW "FORTUNE," BY LA FARGE
IN FRICK BUILDING, PITTSBURGH

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

May 20, 1905

My dear Charles: Your train letter arrived this morning. The Academy will have my best efforts. There is no further news. Phelan, as you know, wired that twenty-five thousand was raised. Polk wrote that eighteen thousand five hundred was "raised at lunch." If Polk included the Mackey ten thousand he would have said so. Therefore, with his eighteen thousand five hundred, the total must have been at least twenty-eight thousand five hundred, and so I am inclined to think that Phelan's twenty-five thousand is in addition to the Mackey subscription, and it is possible that Polk's eighteen thousand five hundred was not counted in by Phelan. Time will show. I wrote to Phelan, Brown, and Polk yesterday.

A plan of work in Chicago for money is determined on. The University, the Art Institute, and the Orchestral Association have, as Dr. Harper told you, each recently gone through the ranks of capable givers, and have gleaned over the field again and again. Ordinary argument will do nothing, but the plan in mind may change things. I know that some few tens will be easily forthcoming, and perhaps all of the one hundred thousand. Meanwhile the Rockefeller road to success is an easy one.

You did not see the Manila and Baguio designs. I intended to show them to you, but the press of things made me entirely forget about it. My next Eastern visit will not come off for several weeks if I can prevent it. The Western one will dwell in my mind like the memory of a campaign.

No, Charles, I do not want any more credit or praise. Appreciation we poor mortals no doubt crave, but fulsome praise is not the voice of it.

C. F. McKim to D. H. B.

Written from the train, June 3, 1905

My dear Daniel: I have read with much interest the enclosed letters from Bourn and Phelan, and despite the somewhat less confident tone taken by Phelan than we had expected,

I have faith to believe that California will not slip her noose, and that whatever may be necessary to make up the whole amount will be accomplished as a matter of State pride as well as sense of obligation to you. Bourn's letter voices this sentiment. Saint-Gaudens agrees.

I am writing this line on my way to Philadelphia with Saint-Gaudens, and we both send you our prayers and best wishes for the speedy consummation of the California and Chicago columns.

Our Executive Committee, now including Elihu Root, President Butler of Columbia, and others, urge the importance of redoubled effort at this time, in order that the announcement of the million may be made in time for the University commencements, West and East, during the present month. Mr. Root has undertaken to secure an answer from J. J. Hill, whom he has asked to be an individual founder, and Saint-Gaudens and I are at this moment on our way to meet Mr. Widener, of Philadelphia, to the same end. Last week, following Dr. Harper's letter to Mr. Gates, Rockefeller's right-hand man, we went to see Mr. Gates, as requested by Dr. Harper, in the interests of Chicago University, and found him both cordial and responsive, agreeing to place the matter before Mr. Rockefeller, and expressing his belief that it would appeal to him to become a founder in the name of the Chicago University.

We all hope very much that your effort to make the Chicago Institute a founder, through the instrumentality of Chicago citizens at your late feast, will be successful, and that we shall hear from you before long. I will keep you informed in the meantime of the progress at this end.

C. F. McKim to D. H. B.

Written from the train, June 3, 1905

Dear Daniel: On re-reading your letter of May 20th, you sum up as follows: "My next Eastern visit will be next week; the Western one will dwell in my mind like the memory of a campaign. No, Charles, I do not want any more credit or praise. Appreciation we poor mortals no doubt crave, but ful-

some praise is not the voice of it." In the language of your friend Dick, "Where the h— did you come from," and what do you mean by "fulsome praise"?

As you never got a word from me in my life that I did not mean, I do not know why you should brand my humble support with such an odious epithet as "fulsome." Fulsome stands for what is insincere, weak-minded, and generally nauseating.

If you do not look out I will call you a sky-scraper!

Yours

C. F. McK.

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

Chicago, 1905

My dear Charles: Your train letter came safely, and I am deeply moved by the expressions contained in it, to all of which I respond from the bottom of my heart. The days have been beautiful ones since you reached me. They will be remembered, since they opened a possible future wherein we may foregather, running over the old and pleasing times. The privilege of being host is so rare I cannot share it with you this time, Charlie. I never had you to myself before, and, therefore, I cannot let you pay for any of it. We will go and come in the years left us, and we must not try to think of money. Ely will be here tomorrow and I dine with him. Come back here, Charles; it is very lonesome without you.

Yours

D. H. B.

Chicago, June 24, 1905

My dear Charles: I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Mr. Phelan, which I am afraid will disappoint you.

The difficulty lies in the lack of interest of individual men when asked to contribute only a part of $100,000. I did not believe this would be the case. Though not "redheaded," I was "hopeful" that the high import of the cause would appeal to men's conscience and judgment. So far I have found but one man who has come forward promptly with a $5000 subscription. He is moved exactly as I hoped many others would be;

he stands alone. I refer to Victor Lawson, who has again and again shown that duty, not vanity, influences his actions. It would seem, therefore, that you have taken the only sure course leading to success, and that the remainder of the fund must be raised from single individuals whose names as founders will appear on the bill-board of time.

Mr. Hutchinson explains to me that he is pushing every one to help him complete a $200,000 fund for the Art Institute. He says that he cannot ask for help towards our $100,000 subscription until his is complete. He is quite right, and I do not find any fault with him. Therefore, you and I must be patient in regard to the Art Institute part. I shall not sleep on the work, but I must strike when a door opens, and, as I said before, must bide my chance. If, in the meantime, you complete the $100,000, there is no reason why more should be not raised.

C. F. McKim to D. H. B.

New York, June 27, 1905

My dear Daniel: I am in receipt of yours of the 24th.

The need for more time to make up California's $100,000 should not discourage us. I have faith that what Mr. Lawson and others have done will prove contagious, and that California will not fail to imitate her sister States in a matter of such consequence to herself, as well as them. It would be a reflection upon her pride and intelligence. I hope you will succeed with Mills and Crocker. You can always count on Saint-Gaudens and me.

Meanwhile we shall press forward during the summer in such quarters as we can, to complete the million during the present year. . . .

I am to be present at the Harvard Commencement to-morrow. I only wish you were to be there.

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

Chicago, July 5, 1905

Dear Mr. McKim: I enclose papers regarding the Frick subscription. I went over the matter with him thoroughly two

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO, SHOWING THE PROPOSED TRANSFORMATION FROM SLUM CONDITIONS TO TWO-LEVEL COMMERCIAL STREETS — A WORK NOW IN PROGRESS
From a rendering by Jules Guérin

or three weeks ago, since which time I have not talked to him. I send you a copy of my letter of June 30th, to him, to which he has responded with a subscription of $100,000 in a letter to Saint-Gaudens, because the latter spoke to him last winter. I am especially pleased to have him address this subscription letter to Mr. Saint-Gaudens.

Frank Millet wrote from Washington about the sad condition of American Academy finances, which were involved in the failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Company, the president of which institution, Charles T. Barney, was the treasurer of the Academy.

March 12, 1908

I am just back from a brief visit to "Manhattan Gulch" and find your letters. I am exceedingly glad you are out and about again, and are recovered from the operation. Poor Charles is no better, I fear, and I am very anxious about him.

It was probably my hasty account of the proceedings of the Academy that led you to think that we can now send another student. We sent an architect and a sculptor in January, and I don't see how it will be possible to send another this year, but at the next meeting of the executive committee I will put the matter before them, and if your candidate is still on deck next autumn I am sure the committee will be inclined toward him, because, as I wrote you before, they want men from the West.

It was very good of you to think about the funds. I was made treasurer to fill Barney's unexpired term, and if we had had a quorum at the annual meeting I should have been out of it before now.

When the Knickerbocker failed, carrying with it our $18,000, we had no funds at all, so I assumed the position of treasurer and opened an account at the Fifth Avenue Bank for our current expenses. That money has been paid back from $1000, which Mr. Morgan sent us as interest on his subscription. Then we got strapped again, as I had to send $3000 to Rome. Then I got up a scheme to raise the wind and got Cadwallader,

French, Mowbray, Blashfield, Ely, and myself to loan $500 each, promising repayment out of the first money coming in when the K. Trust Company resumed. The ex. com. has power inasmuch as it endorsed my scheme to pay back the loan from any money it may get in.

Now we are again hard up, because the expenses in Rome are about $1000 a month and I have got to raise more wind somehow. Therefore, if you feel like joining us we shall be delighted, and I will give you the same guarantee we all have for repayment. I can't call on the same lot of men again, and just what I shall do I don't know. However, something may turn up and the Knickerbocker may resume soon.

I have been secretary three or four years and have had my studio turned into an office all that time. If Charles were not ill, I should insist on being relieved, but just now it would n't be loyal in me to do it.

Yours affectionately

FRANK MILLET

To continue the story of Mr. Burnham's connection with the Academy, the correspondence following his visit of 1908–09 is given in sequence.

American Academy in Rome
Villa Mirafiore, October 21, 1909

DEAR DAN: It was a great pleasure to me to receive your letter, and I should have sooner replied, but I have as you see been wandering somewhat. I came to England in August, took a ten days' picture "cure" in Holland and then came down here, after I had finished a small picture, to see the Brecks out and the Crowninshields in. The Brecks sailed on Tuesday in the Cretic, and expect to arrive in New York about November 1. The C.'s are delighted with the Villa and are entering on their career with enthusiasm and joy. We have re-apportioned various rooms in the Villa, are putting up casts and making it have something of the appearance of a place where artists work and study. The new studios, although they are not much of a success as studios, still give us the opportunity of gathering

our men into one compound. What we want is an enlargement of the draughting-room and about four or five larger and better studios on the spot where it was originally agreed we should have them, along the new road to the north.

McKim's illness prevented the accomplishment of various changes and additions and put an end, temporarily I hope, to the contributions. I have n't heard from America except a brief line to say that the fellows are trying to erect a column in McKim's memory,[1] that is gather $100,000 to make him a Founder.

You have, of course, heard of the legacy of the Villa Aurelia. Some of my time has been occupied here in getting data and I have sent it all to New York to Mr. Cadwallader, begging him to advise us if we can accept the legacy under the conditions accompanying it. It is valued at $250,000, and, while a splendid place, is unsuited to our uses. The income would, however, be most welcome.

We have an excellent class of men working at the Academy now, the best we have ever had, and I have great hopes and distinct expectations that it is to become more and more important as an educator. Indeed, I am working as hard as I can to carry out what I know to be McKim's ideas. He is a great loss to us personally, to us who knew him so intimately and loved him so much, and he is an irreparable loss to art and to the country. Thus does the class of '69 dwindle away. *Eheu fugaces!* Let us work on as hard as we can, that's the only way to find forgetfulness of our woes and troubles. I expect to come back to America in early December and to see you some time or some where. Why don't you make your promised visit to Washington?

My regards to Mrs. Burnham and your sister.

Always affectionately

FRANK M.

Washington, January 18, 1910

DEAR DAN: You said you hoped to hear from me about the 20th. I wonder if you have returned from California yet.

[1] Charles McKim died September 14, 1909.

Now, about the Academy. We have been getting in subscriptions for the McKim column, and we can call it within $10,000 or $15,000 of completion. You will soon hear of a scheme to raise this sum. If we can get $10,000 from the architects, I can get $5,000 more, and we think we can raise the $10,000 by appealing to the profession to contribute to add a "drum" to McKim's column. Mr. Rockefeller said he would consider favorably the proposition to complete the million, provided we raise $900,000. We have, with the McKim legacy and the McKim column (for we can divert a small amount to complete it if all else fails), the $900,000, and now Mr. Rockefeller allows he does not believe in endowments. Perhaps we can still convert him, but if we can't the only game is to raise a column to Saint-Gaudens, who ought to have one as we all know. What do you think?

Now as to the Presidency! The annual meeting is on February 8, and a nominating committee is appointed. I expected you would be willing to take this post, and indeed you are the logical successor to McKim, but you insist on keeping out of the Academy management, I am sorry to say, and I am much disturbed in consequence.

For almost three solid months I have done nothing else but work to settle matters, to get the endowment, etc. We are revising the competition scheme and when it is settled I shall send it to you for your criticism. As I wrote you some time ago, these temporary regulations are not indelible and fixed. They must be experimental.

I hope you will give me the benefit, us the benefit, of your opinion on this matter.

I confess I am pretty blue about finances. But I am not letting up and can't let up, even though I am losing my season's work and doing nothing for myself. We must put the thing through.

Boring has got out a list of miscellaneous subscriptions from the books of the Treasurer, and the records show that your own estimate of what you have contributed is, as far as I remember it, accurate. We have returned the last loan of $1000 according

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME — THE COURT

to my agreement. I wish we could get that San Francisco money, what do you think about it?

Yours faithfully and affectionately

FRANK D. MILLET

Washington, November 25, 1910

DEAR DAN: Norton[1] and I cabled you not long ago about Rome. We were much excited over the situation because we believe that the Academy ought to have the Villa Aurelia, and we thought if you and Butler[2] could go down there and look the Academy over and give us the result of your study we could count on that result more than anything else. In all probability we shall have to get another director before long — this is strictly between us — particularly if we succeed in getting the Villa Aurelia, because I don't think the present director[3] will care to undergo the bother and worry of fitting up that place and because he has always opposed our considering it as a location. I don't believe he will care to live there.

I would esteem most highly your opinion of the situation and your frank criticism and suggestions of how to improve the institution. It is all very well to flounder about and fuss and worry about this or that little thing. The question is how can the Academy best be conducted for the good of the students. We all know it is not going along as it might, although we are turning out some good men. I know you do not favor the present régime. What I much desire is to get your advice and assistance on the large question of administration. Do let me have it. I hope you will be able to go down there.

We had a meeting of the Commission[4] the other day — nothing of great importance was decided and we all wanted you there. Moore and Gilbert were absent. I have just come back from Thanksgiving Day with Ely, and have a mountain of

[1] Charles D. Norton. [2] Edward B. Butler.

[3] Frederic Crowninshield, poet and artist, director of the American Academy in Rome, 1909–11.

[4] The Commission of Fine Arts, created by the Act of Congress of May 17, 1910.

letters to answer, else I would write more at length. I was very glad to get your letter. Good luck.

Yours affectionately

FRANK D. MILLET

In the file of Millet correspondence there is the draft of a letter, all in Mr. Burnham's handwriting. A part of this letter was afterwards typewritten and then subjected to many changes, and finally marked with a memorandum to hold it. The original draft embodies so fully Mr. Burnham's ideas as to the management and development of the American Academy in Rome that it is given as he originally wrote it. The date is evidently January 10, 1910:

I was to leave for California on the fifth instant; my bag and transportation were ready. On that afternoon I went to the hospital instead of boarding the Western train. Dr. Fuller sent me there for an eye rest, and I have just returned.

No, I am not the man for Director.[1] I have some of the qualities, but lack essential ones. I have written to Phelan (about the California subscriptions to the American Academy in Rome); when the answer comes "you shall have it promptly." I may go West on the 26th—shall go if Fuller slips the leash. Two things in your letter of the 25th ult. struck me. The salary of the Director and the social status of the Director's wife. I do not know how you view it, but $14,000 salary, under the present circumstances, seems to me to be very excessive. None of the presidents of our great Western State universities is paid as much. I should like them all to have plenty, but a trustee has no right to follow his feelings. He must be careful to do what is usual and customary, or he will wreck the institution in the eyes of the community. Besides, a high status in the Academy can never be made by a man who is willing to receive a large sum when finances are in a precarious condition. I remember

[1] Mr. Burnham misunderstood Mr. Millet's suggestion, namely, that he take McKim's place as the president, not as the director.

making an arrangement with the elder Olmsted for the services of his firm in the World's Fair. He refused a high salary and named an extremely moderate one, saying, "High charges spoil the spirit of my work for me."

The other point you urge in favor of —— is that his wife has knowledge of Roman society and skill in playing the game. Dear Frank, this is the very thing you *don't* want. We have had mistresses in the Academy of Rome, and what has come of it? When I visited the Academy a cold chill ran down my back because I was received in a drawing-room by a woman. No man knows what this means better than you do. It has not worked, and it cannot be made to. Imagine a woman presiding in the Villa Medici! Would any French artist stand it? There should be no woman in the Mirafiore. The students there are not boys. They do not need "the influence and refinements of a home," and they do need entire freedom to work each according to his own nature, following his own moods. Any restriction put on him will vex and interfere, and any set social formality about him frets his life. No woman can live there without making a nest for herself in the Villa, and will this nest be hidden and so used as to be negligible in summing up the spirit of the school? You know it cannot be. No woman who ever lived could so subordinate herself. "My boys," and "what I hope for my boys." These phrases are quoted by me. The dear ladies I met in the Roman Academy used them. They brooded over the School!!

This Academy needs a master and not a presiding lady, and the master should be an architect. One who knows the laws and can constantly hold the work to them; leaving all students full freedom of artistic feeling and individual expression, but making sure so far as he is able to, that the thoughts of his students' brains and the work of their hands shall be sane, — one whose whole heart is in this work. It is a great opportunity for the right fellow. He should not look upon it as a temporary employment, but must go in with the hope and intention of making it his life work. He should have bodily and mental vigor, and, above all, a spirit of self-abnegation. To send home three

men annually who shall become a true leaven in America seems to me to be our great object. The Academy should not be a benevolent institution, but a seminary furnishing all the people of this country the right sort of influence. This we need constantly in order to keep our progress in the right direction.

To me the individual designs of buildings our Roman scholars may make are not so important as the spirit they will introduce and keep alive among us. You take a man like Kendall.[1] Does n't it seem evident that his architectural thought waves permeate beyond the sphere of McKim, Mead & White's practice?

The American Academy in Rome, now an established institution, has a fine location, buildings adapted to the work, and an endowment as nearly adequate as is consistent with progress and expansion. A vital spirit permeates the Academy; the well-organized alumni not only are loyal to the place of their training, but in their own work in architecture, painting, and sculpture they exemplify the standards set up by the institution — standards of simplicity, directness, of hard study and quiet thought, of ability to solve a problem in such manner as to impart originality and charm. In a world which scoffs at precedent and tradition, is intolerant of thought, and is ready to applaud whatever startles the senses, the American Academy in Rome stands for sincerity and truth. Thus the high purposes of the founders are fulfilled.[2]

[1] William Mitchell Kendall, now a member of the firm of McKim, Mead & White.

[2] Mr. Burnham's own gifts were supplemented, after his death, by the founding of a scholarship in his name by Mrs. Burnham.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO

1909

DURING his absence the work on the Chicago Plan had progressed to its closing stages and through the spring months Mr. Burnham devoted his energies to revising the report and watching over the reproduction of the drawings, rendered in color by Jules Guérin and in black and white by Jules Janin, a brilliant young Frenchman brought from Paris for that particular work.[1] The reproduction of Jules Guérin's wonderful color taxed to the utmost the resources of the printers; but Thomas E. Donnelley, of the Lakeside Press, a member of the Commercial Club, worked over the plates until they were fairly satisfactory to the critical eye of Edward Bennett, although at times there was despair and even desperation. The Commercial Club published the report in the shape of a sumptuous quarto volume, on July 4, 1909; and so the Chicago Plan was launched.

In Mr. Burnham's mind the report was but the beginning. "It is not to be expected that a plan devised while as yet few civic problems have received final solution will be perfect in all its details." All he claimed for the plan was that it was "the result of extended and careful study of the needs of Chicago, made by disinterested men of wide experience, among the very conditions it is sought to remedy; and that during the years

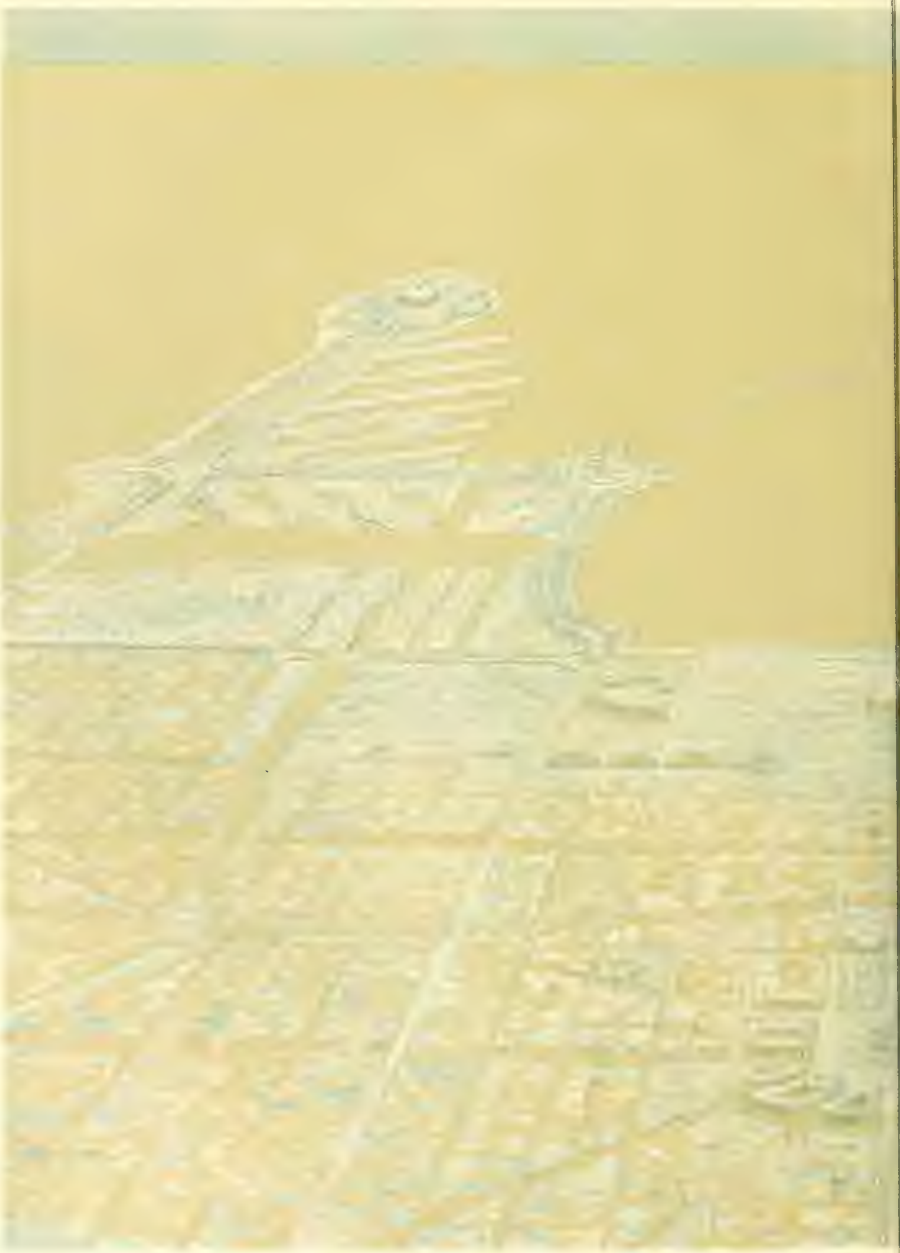
[1] Jules Janin returned to Paris, tried for the *Prix de Rome* and failed; tried again and succeeded; but he died of overwork before he could get to the Villa Medici.

devoted to its preparation the plan has had the benefit of varied and competent criticism. The real test of the plan will be found in its application; for, such is the determination of the people to secure more perfect conditions, it is certain that if the plan is really good it will commend itself to the progressive spirit of the times, and sooner or later it will be carried out." Events have proved that his anticipations were entirely justified.

In one thing, however, the work is complete. It embodies the principles underlying all city-planning, past, present, and future; and it glows with the enthusiasm with which the real creator inspires his work. The text, prepared from comprehensive notes made by him, is replete with his striking phrases, his happy characterizations, and is imbued with his settled philosophy: that the chief end of life is service to mankind in making life better and richer for every citizen. So the Plan of Chicago is more than a presentation of schemes of improvement shown in diagrams, pictured in completed form, and explained in words. It is a clarion call to his successors to take up and carry to completion the work of making Chicago the finest commercial city on the globe — a task to which he adjures them by invoking the Spirit of Chicago, to which appeal was never made in vain.[1]

It was during the year following the Fair that James W. Ellsworth suggested to Mr. Burnham the making of a plan for a connection covering the eight miles of Lake front between Grant and Jackson Parks. The idea made a strong appeal, and

[1] Plan of Chicago: prepared under the direction of The Commercial Club during the years MCMI, MCMVII, and MCMVIII; by Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett; architects; edited by Charles Moore. Chicago, The Commercial Club, MCMIX; pp. xviii, 164.



THE PLAN OF CHICAGO, SHOWING CIVIC CENTRE, GRANT
From a paintin

RK, YACHT HARBOR, RECREATION PIERS, AND LAGOONS
Jules Guérin

during leisure hours the plan was formulated and submitted to Mr. Ellsworth. Meantime the South Parks were expanding and a plan for a metropolitan park system, including an outer belt of parks and parkways was prepared by the park authorities.

In 1896 Mr. Ellsworth gave a small dinner at which Mr. Burnham's plan was presented. The project had for its chief features creating along the Lake front, outside the railway tracks, a boulevard; and building in the Lake a long, narrow park with a lagoon for boating between the Lake park and the boulevarded shores. The guests at the dinner, prepared by Mr. Ellsworth's endorsement, took fire from Mr. Burnham's enthusiasm. George Pullman said he stood ready to give his riparian rights in order to pave the way. Marshall Field acquiesced as to the possibilities of the scheme and its advantages to Chicago. Philip D. Armour went so far as to prophesy that some day a plan so fine in conception and so feasible would be carried out.

The plans were presented at the Art Institute and before the Woman's Club and the Commercial Club. No active steps were taken, however, until in 1906 a group of the younger men known as the Merchants' Club, on casting about for a live project for the club to take up and promote, hit upon the Burnham plan. A committee, made up of Walter H. Wilson, Frederick A. Delano, and Charles D. Norton, called on Mr. Burnham with their proposition. Mr. Burnham felt himself committed to the Commercial Club, of which Franklin MacVeagh was president; and there the matter rested for an entire year. The committee, however, returned to the subject, and in 1907 the Merchants' Club was absorbed in the Commercial Club, and the combined organization undertook to finance the

plan. Meantime Mr. Burnham developed his ideas with great breadth and minuteness.

On April 13, 1897, he presented his plans to the Merchants' Club in an address which represents his deep convictions as to the effect on the community of civic improvements. He would make the city a place attractive to the rich and powerful, indeed, so that they would be induced to spend their money at home; but he was especially concerned for the far larger portion of the community, who must perforce remain in the city, and on whom the city depends for its power and greatness. He conceived it the duty of the community to foster and promote good citizenship by means of ample and fine opportunities for recreation. To him democracy meant the happiness of all the people secured by the well-directed action of the people themselves.

Mr. Burnham began with an appeal to the civic consciousness of the people of Chicago:

> You are the men who have made Chicago, who have fought her battles, who have never been content to pause and rest after deeds accomplished, but whose faces have always been turned toward the future, and whose motto has ever been "I will."
>
> Many things which have seemed to be well-nigh impossible have been completed by the men of Chicago, always with the same impatience of delay, imperiously overriding every obstacle. The destroyed city rebuilt in a year, the drainage canal now almost completed, the World's Fair designed in '91 and completed in '93, these are but samples of the unchanging genius of this place, and I am confident that what is now proposed will in a few years be enjoyed as an accomplished undertaking. And so, looking toward the future, I suggest that the time has come for Chicago to make herself attractive.

It is surprising that no public effort has yet been made in all these years to restore to the people of the city the seven miles of water front lying between the River and Hyde Park. This effort should now be made, and if the purpose be carried out, it will add a new and beneficent element to individual lives in the city. When a citizen is made to feel the beauty of nature, when he is lifted up by her to any degree above the usual life of his thoughts and feelings, the state of which he is a part is benefitted thereby. A very high purpose will be served if the Lake shore be restored to the people and made beautiful for them.

If the plan of improvement be carried out, you will have taken a long step towards cementing together the heterogeneous elements of our population, and towards assimilating the million and a half of people who are here now, but who were not here some fifteen years ago. Apart from the mere pleasantness and contentment which great beauty fosters and enhances, the material prosperity which should follow as a result of the improvement is perhaps of far more immediate importance. You all know that there is a tendency among our well-to-do people to spend much time and money elsewhere, and that this tendency has been rapidly growing in late years. We have been running away to Cairo, Athens, The Riviera, Paris, and Vienna, because life at home is not so pleasant as in these fashionable centres. Thus a constant drain upon the resources of the town has been going on. No one has estimated the number of millions of money made here in Chicago and expended elsewhere, but the sum must be a large one. What would be the effect upon our retail business at home if this money were circulated here? Does any one grown rich in the mines, the forests, or the plains of our country come here to live, or even linger for the sake of pleasure? Does he not pass through our city, remaining only as long as he is compelled to, so that we get the benefit neither of his money nor of his presence among us? What would be the effect upon our prosperity if the town were so delightful that most of the men who grow independent financially in the Mississippi Valley, or west of it, were to come to Chicago to

live? Should we not without delay do something competent to beautify and make our city attractive for ourselves, and especially for these desirable visitors?

When I show you the plan you will see that the execution of it is a comparatively simple matter. Given the means, and in a few years you will see such another transformation as occurred in '93 at Jackson Park. Only this time the result will be far more beautiful and, better still, it will be permanent.

In the fifties Napoleon the Third took old Paris to pieces and put it together again. The changes brought about by him made that city famous, and as a result most of the idle people of great means in the world habitually linger there, and I am told that the Parisians annually gain in profits from visitors more than the Emperor spent in making the changes. Thousands of people all over the country are becoming wealthy, and thousands are already so. These people go to New York to live, but many would come here if we should create conditions which would attract them. Beauty has always paid better than any other commodity and always will.

Athens was a commercial city, which, four hundred years before Christ, controlled the commerce of the world, but the time came when she saw that her supremacy was about to slip away. Pericles, her ruler, perceived this and determined that though men might seek wealth in other lands, they should come to Athens to spend it; and he gathered up all the funds of the colonies, and with them superbly adorned his city. Ever since that time, and even to-day, twenty-three hundred years afterwards, Greece is still living on money brought there by visitors, who are attracted principally by the public improvements of Pericles. He determined that the city should prosper in the future even more than it had in the past, and by making Athens fair to gaze upon and delightful to live in, he accomplished the purpose he had in view. In short, a commercial city is the one of all others that should be interested in putting on a becoming dress and assuming a charming appearance. Pericles was a political genius who knew how to perpetuate the prosperity of a city. Why not establish here physical conditions which

CHICAGO IN 1874
From a contemporary lithograph

will make this the pleasure-town of the country, and thus enable our citizens to avail themselves of the fact? We have the situation. Everything favors us. Why not make the change and, instead of living in a place avoided by men, become citizens of the most attractive town in the world?

The South Park Commission, the Field Columbian Museum and the First Brigade are now in position to take possession of the downtown Lake Front. The plan involves the improvement of the Lake Front, the connections with the North Shore and with Jackson Boulevard, and the building out in the Lake of a parkway from Twelfth Street to Fifty-Sixth Street. The treatment of the three-hundred-feet strip and of the park in front of it is to be formal rather than natural, because this location is surrounded by very large buildings, which cannot be brought into harmony with woodland effects. Between Randolph and Twelfth are thirteen streets coming out of the city and terminating in Michigan Avenue. The central one is Congress Street, which will be made the principal axis of the design. The chief aim of the three-hundred-feet strip is to bring about as far as practicable a symmetrical appearance of the parts on each side of the axis. The second aim is to produce an effect far back in the old city. This will be accomplished by placing upon it, opposite the centre of each street, some monumental object, which shall fittingly mark that entrance, and which shall always be plainly visible to any one going eastwardly. In other words, the great terrace called the Lake Front is not only to have its effect upon the beholder standing at Michigan Avenue, but upon any one walking toward the Lake on any cross-street.

The continuation of Congress Street should form a broad approach to the outside park. There should be other approaches from Michigan Avenue and they should be at Peck and Hubbard Courts and at Jackson and Monroe Streets. On each side of Congress Street there should be a place for a fountain, and each should bear a proper name. They should be of the type used in modern Rome, wherein the water is thrown up from the rim of the basin to a common centre. Between Park Row and

Peck Court will be a place for a monument. Between Peck Court and Hubbard Court is the location of the equestrian statue of General Logan, by Saint-Gaudens, which statue is finished and ready to be placed. Between Jackson and Monroe Streets is the ground upon which the Art Institute stands. These two entire blocks should be laid out to produce the highest possible effect and enhance the beauty of that building. It has been suggested that north and south of the Institute might be placed peristyles, exactly reproducing the finest orders of architecture, which would be beautiful and at the same time of great value to students. It has also been suggested that the Art Institute might bridge over the Illinois Central and build an annex west of the tracks, on the outer park, which would be a good thing for the Institute, and for the general scheme as well.

The rest of the three-hundred-feet strip, that part lying between Monroe and Randolph Streets, should be devoted to a building for annual expositions, and for a monumental entrance to the tunnel which should connect Michigan Avenue with Pine Street on the North Side.

The principal feature of the Grant Park should be the Field Columbian Museum, which should lie in the centre of it, leaving a parade-ground on the north and a playground on the south of it.[1]

In the extreme southern quadrangle might be placed the Crerar Library, or this building might be used to echo the Art Institute Annex and balance the design as a whole, by occupying a space south of the main axis, corresponding to the one north of the axis, to be occupied by the Institute. . . . On the main axis, that is to say the centre of Congress Street produced at the margin of the Lake, should be a fountain, such as the one which was in front of the Administration Building at the head of the grand Court of Honor at the Fair. Between the

[1] Mr. Burnham's plan for the location of the Field Museum on the axis of Congress Street could not be carried out because of legal difficulties incident to placing any building in that park. The location was therefore changed to the alternative site on the Lake front at the beginning of Roosevelt Road (Twelfth Street).

Museum and fountain would stand a monument to Columbus — such a one as was designed by Miss Lawrence and Mr. Saint-Gaudens for the Fair. South of the monument should be the Crerar statue of Lincoln, the seated figure designed by Saint-Gaudens. North of the monument should be a statue of Washington. East of the Museum, on the main axis, should be a place for a monument to be built in the future.

A broad roadway is to run around the four sides of the quadrangle, and the section of it toward the Lake will form part of the South Shore Drive, and skirt the playground, museum, statues, fountains, parade-ground, and the military camp, and then go north over the viaduct which should cross the river, connecting with the Lincoln Park improvements, so that without coming into the city proper, one can drive beside the Lake, past Edgewater and Evanston to Fort Sheridan and beyond.

There are many minor places for statues, fountains, vases, and other objects, but I will not stop to explain them to-night. The design of the downtown park should be severely simple and formal, as far as the plan is concerned, but exceedingly rich in details. In front of the outer park there should be a harbor for smaller craft that are to ply on the lagoon inside of the great South Shore Drive. The tunnel of which I have spoken should be of marble, and should be adorned with statues and mural tablets, forming an object to be proud of.

Picture to yourselves a stately white Museum, resting on the Grand Terrace called the Lake Front, and dominating all the elements of it; the lawns, the fountains, the monuments, all of which should be placed so as to have some reference to that particular building. No structure in the world has ever had a nobler setting than this would be. Would not such a park form a fitting entrance-way to the city itself? And yet it must be looked upon as a vestibule and nothing else, for still more important will be the avenues that are to meet upon it. From it the people will pass across Michigan Avenue on Jackson Boulevard and thence inside of the iron loop that already encloses the world of commerce in Chicago, and thence to the West Park system.

At the southern end of the Lake Front will begin the Shore Drive, which, going above the Illinois Central Railway to the Lake, will extend over a stone bridge of the old Roman pattern to the first great outer concourse, and thence south seven and a half miles, to the lower end of Jackson Park. This avenue should be reached from the land by seven viaducts, each passing over the Illinois Central and extending to a broad concourse on the great driveway itself. These viaducts should be built of stone, and between the arches should be abutments continuing upward, until they become pedestals on the parapets, on which pedestals should be statues and vases. The piers of the viaducts might be planted with clinging vines, which would emphasize and adorn the strong masonry.

The driveway itself should be protected by a sea-wall, designed to express dignity as well as to afford security. Behind it should be a broad terrace, supporting seats made in the old Grecian pattern, so placed that the sitter might look out to sea. Next this wall should be a space, planted with tall shrubs, disposed partly to conceal and partly to reveal the Lake. Next this, a bicycle course and a greensward, covered with flowering plants. Next to this plantation should be an equestrian way, and west of it should be the great Avenue itself, with its broad green lawns and its rows of stately trees. Beside the Drive, on the west of it, should be another terrace, with here and there old Greek resting-places, some curved into the banks, out of which should flow fountains of water. The floor of this walk and of the recesses should be paved with small colored pebbles, in geometrical patterns. The wall itself, which is to be next west of the walk, should be built of long slivers of sparkling stone, like those encircling the Roosevelt farms that skirt along the Hudson, north of Poughkeepsie.

Level with the top of this wall should begin the broad undulating grounds, some three hundred to four hundred feet in width, which should finally slope down into the waters of the lagoon and be planted magnificently.

The concourse where the viaducts end should be treated in a monumental manner. There are seven of them in all, in-

FOYER, ORCHESTRA HALL, CHICAGO

cluding those at each end of the Drive. The one at the north end would stand at the beginning of the Harbor of Chicago, and it should be a statue representing the genius of the City — the figure of a young man — visible from the Harbor and from the Driveway along its entire length. It should form the Pharos of our inland sea, and upon its brow should be a diadem of brilliant lights.

A river-bank six miles long, with trees, bays, and islands, is not a great enough project to accomplish the end we have in view, namely: to make the most attractive possible waterway and parkway ever known to man. If we stop with the water, the islands, and the planting, we shall have done only a half-hearted thing, which I do not believe will bring about the change in the life of Chicago that we are after. Could I have twenty to thirty millions of dollars to spend on great monuments, terraces, landing places, and sculptured objects, along the shore between the Drive and the Lagoon, I might be able to accomplish for the scheme what I now look for the residences themselves to bring about. We never shall be able to get twenty or thirty millions for the monumental part. Must we then give it up and drop back into the same channel ordinarily followed in times past by other people? I say, no! If we make a residence portion two hundred or three hundred feet wide, between the Drive and the Lagoon, and hold the owners to certain rules when building, then they themselves will produce an effect far finer than any one designer could lay out. We need these residences, with their beautiful terraces, the Italian gardens, the broad stairways leading down to the water's edge. We need the life which will display itself upon their lawns, upon these terraces, and upon the stairways. We need the vying with each other that is sure to come, in the matter of their family boats or water craft. The lovely and necessary finishing effects would be added by the life of these people, the sound of their voices and of their music, as well as their movements upon the water and about their homes. The great dignity and the display surrounding splendid homes is really the vital point in the *tout ensemble;* and as I have said, we should do everything

possible, in creating such a landscape, to give it charm and make it an attraction to the people of the whole world.

Behind the high bank west of the railway the earth should be piled up so as to form lawns, from which one can overlook the scene beneath. This wall should be covered with blossoming vines, and should be overhung with nodding flowers and richly colored foliage, with here and there a statue, half concealed, symbolizing a mood or force of Nature. From this wall, stone balconies should here and there project, and there should be open spaces through which shady ravines may be seen, planted delicately, in the Japanese manner.

Between the railway and the water need be no wall. The Lagoon, the buildings, the banks, the avenues, and the Lake itself, should be seen through vistas kept always open. The Lagoon should be from four hundred to one thousand feet broad, and some thirty thousand feet in length. In it should be many islands, ranging in length from fifty to eight hundred feet and in breadth from thirty to three hundred feet. The south one might be called "University Island," and upon it might be placed the boat-houses of the University crews, because the waters of the Lagoon will form a noble race-course five miles long. Other islands might be used by athletic associations in the city, their buildings being put up under the control of the South Park Commission — every one pure in style and proper for its place. No building of wood should be allowed anywhere upon the entire system of boulevards, parks, and islands.

The south end of the Lagoon should be a channel, leading through to the internal waters at Jackson Park, and should be two hundred feet broad, so that any one might sail, or row, or float, in launches or gondolas, from the south harbor at Twelfth Street to the south harbor at Jackson Park, a distance of eight miles, and be safe in the lightest of canoes, even when a storm rages on the open Lake.

Both shores of the Lagoon should be ornamented with trees and shrubs adapted to our climate, and especially with those that blossom — the apple, the pear, the peach, the horse-

chestnut, the wild-chestnut, the catalpa, the crab, the lilac, syringas, acacias, dogwood. The days of May and June should be a festival-time upon the water. In the spring and summer, or in the autumn, when floating upon the Lagoon, one should be conscious of the presence of flowers. On the banks should be sweet-briar, heliotrope, mignonette, and wild sweet grasses — the plants that fill the air with fragrance. The form and color of the foliage in planting should be as important to the design as the general arrangement of the Driveway itself. At the margin of the Lagoon should be the lotus and the water-lilies. The water itself should be maintained at a fixed level, by means of locks, between the Lagoon and the Lake, and no currents should be allowed to tear or damage the delicate plantations. Under the eastern end of each viaduct should be a canal, from the Lagoon to the Lake, and under the western end should be boat- and bath-houses.

The land lying alongside the South Shore Drive should be rented for clubs, hotels, and private villas. These buildings should be brought into harmony with the general monumental scheme and thus become valuable elements of the whole design, which, without them, would lack a quality of life very necessary to the highest expression.

Over the lawns, frequent vistas should be kept open, leaving glimpses of the Lake for people upon the Lagoon, the Illinois Central, or the private terraces west of the railway.

Each house should face both the Lagoon and the Drive, and it should have no back door or stable, unless concealed within an architectural courtyard.

The trees of the avenue should be very tall. I have taken pictures of many of those growing along the Lake, from Waukegan to Calumet. There are maples eighty feet high and the same in breadth; elms over one hundred feet in height; cottonwoods that are over one hundred and twenty feet in height. An avenue of pines, elms, and cottonwoods can be formed on the South Shore Driveway — six hundred trees in all, we will say, every one of which shall approximate one hundred feet in height when set in place, and every one of

which shall flourish. There are many thousands of acres of noble trees around Lake Michigan which can be reached by water. The question of moving them is one of expense. If money enough be allowed, any healthy tree can be transplanted, no matter what its size may be; and in five years from to-day, if an order were given, the Avenue might be finished and appear as if it had been there for centuries. Men have spent many millions upon a single building, but have never yet made one that possessed the dignity and nobility of such an Avenue as may be yours here in Chicago. Think of it, winding along six miles, beside the beautiful waters of Lake Michigan.

Now, can this dream be carried out? It rests with you. Having the money, five years from this spring it could be realized and far more gloriously than is possible to portray. The ablest artists should be employed on the work. When such men come together for a purpose worthy of their powers, their minds grow subtle, eager, intuitive; their thoughts stimulate each other, and suggestions crowd to their lips and pencil-bearing fingers. Given such a problem, and real men to solve it, and I would almost say, "The shorter the time the better," because intensity stimulates the mind to greater flights than ever come in quiet moments.

Let us imagine that the five years have passed and that the dream is realized. Before us spreads a plantation of majestic trees, shadowing lawns and roadways, upon the margin of the Lake. In contrast with it, the shining Lagoon stretches away to the north. Behind this the soft banks of the shore, and trains glancing in and out through waving willows. Behind all, the wall of a stately terrace, covered with clinging vines and crowned with statues, and upholding quiet lawns, surrounding lovely homes.

The Lake has been singing to us many years, until we have become responsive. We see the broad water, ruffled by the gentle breeze; upon its breast the glint of oars, the gleam of rosy sails, the outlines of swift gliding launches. We see racing shells go by, urged onward by bronzed athletes. We hear the rippling of the waves, commingled with youthful laughter, and

music swelling over the Lagoon dies away under the low branches of the trees. A crescent moon swims in the western sky, shining faintly upon us in the deepening twilight.

We float by lawns, where villas, swan-like, rest upon their terraces, and where white balustrades and wood-nymphs are just visible in the gloaming. The evening comes, with myriad colored lights twinkling through air perfumed with water-lilies, and Nature enfolds us, like happy children.

And what sort of prosperity is this which we should foster and maintain? Not that for rich people solely or principally, for they can take care of themselves and wander where they will in the pursuit of happiness; but the prosperity of those who must have employment in order to live. Do not these latter depend upon the circulation among them of plenty of ready money, and can this be brought about without the presence of large numbers of well-to-do people?

How, then, can we make sure of bringing to our shores and retaining among us those who are financially independent? Surely by making Chicago supremely attractive, and so as a people we must, if we can, do for ourselves what elsewhere has been done by a single ruler.

In attempting any answer to this question, it is evident at the outset that to attain a satisfactory result, we should aim at nothing less than a supreme improvement, that no halfway measure will do; that if we must lead, we must not be niggardly in what we undertake for Chicago.

On this basis, therefore, I have the honor to make some suggestions, which will take the shape of a design for the improvement of the Lake front. It is not claimed that this plan is the best that can be devised, or that it covers all that should be done. It is not even put forward with any urgency for its adoption in whole or in part, but merely as a sketch, showing that an improvement of great magnificence is possible and entirely practicable.

The times, however, were not then ripe for undertaking the task and meantime Mr. Burnham was drawn into national work.

The volume presenting the Chicago Plan was received with profuse attention and favor by the Chicago press and the popular and technical magazines. From McKim came this letter, the last he ever wrote to his friend.

Narragansett Pier, July 19 [1909]

My dear Daniel: I was delighted to receive from you the fine vellum-bound edition of your great Chicago Improvement Plan edited by Moore, and which as time goes on cannot fail to be carried out. The illustrations are remarkable and the whole result of your labors stands as one of your monuments — greater far than all of them put together, in fact.

I was delighted to receive this proof of your remembrance of me and am very proud of it.

May your work and health go on for many years to come.

Ever yours

C. J. McK.

To this letter Burnham replied:

[*No date*]

My dear Charles: I am surprised and delighted to get a letter from you this morning. It seems long since one has come to me.

I am still on deck, but lonesome without you.

The Chicago work has extended through three years and it already needs revision, which it will get in the second edition of the report. It has been glorious fun, I can assure you. I hoped to lay it before you before the final decisions were made, and still feel it would have gained much from your criticisms.

Ever yours

D. H. Burnham

Mr. Burnham was at Charlevoix when Margaret McKim telegraphed that her father died on September 14. The message was delayed, and it was impossible for him to reach New York in time for the funeral. "After a beautiful service at Trinity, Charles McKim is at rest here. We have loved and

CHICAGO: MICHIGAN AVENUE, LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE RAILWAY EXCHANGE BUILDING: THE FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM IN DISTANCE

lost." So Charles D. Norton wired on the 17th from Brick Church, New Jersey.

The Commercial Club presented the Plan of Chicago to the city with a request that a commission be appointed to study the Plan and recommend such portion of it as should be carried out. The outline given by Mr. Burnham dealt mainly with the Lake front and was intended to fire the imaginations of his audiences. The Plan itself was comprehensive in that it dealt with the development of all the territory lying within a radius of sixty miles from Chicago; it comprised the cutting of new streets, the regulation of traffic, the relocation of railway terminals, the development of an outer park and boulevard system, including forest preserves, the location and development of a civic centre — in fact, with all the physical elements involved in the planning of a city.

On November 1, 1909, four months after the Plan was presented, Mayor Fred A. Busse, acting under an authorization of the Common Council, appointed the Chicago City Plan Commission. Charles H. Wacker was made chairman, and to the work he has given almost his entire time. Henry Barrett Chamberlain, the secretary, served until 1911, when his place was taken by Walter D. Moody, managing director and secretary; and Edward H. Bennett has served as the consultant throughout the whole period. Never has a civic body acted with more energy, determination, judgment, and tact, as the record of work accomplished during the past ten years proves.

Of the improvements made in accordance with his plan, Mr. Burnham saw only the beginnings of the widening of Michigan Avenue; but the efforts put forth successfully to accomplish this first undertaking made certain to him the ultimate devel-

opment of the entire plan. The clearing away of legal difficulties and the enlisting of the citizens in the enterprise gave to the Plan such an impetus that he knew his work had not been in vain.

During the past decade Roosevelt Road (Twelfth Street) has been widened for a distance of two miles at a cost of eight million dollars; Michigan Avenue has been widened from Randolph Street to Jackson Boulevard at a cost of fifteen millions; railway terminal plans involving an expenditure of seventy-five millions are in progress; agreements have been signed for the development of the water front from Grant Park to Jackson Park in substantial accord with the original Burnham Plan for the development of the Lake front, including the outer park and the lagoons. For this project a bond issue of twenty million dollars has been voted by the people; and the Illinois Central Railroad has committed itself to the expenditure of eighty-five millions in addition to the amounts to be expended by other roads already mentioned. A new diagonal, known as Ogden Avenue, is being cut from Ashland Avenue to Lincoln Park at a cost to the city of four and a half millions. The congested market area along Water Street is being reconstructed according to comprehensive plans involving economy, sanitation, and the overcoming of congestion, as well as providing for the orderly development of the Chicago River frontage, all at an estimated cost to the city of nearly four million dollars; and bond issues for the widening of Western and Ashland Avenues and Robey Street at a cost of seventeen and a half millions have been voted by large majorities; for the reason that the people have become convinced that every dollar spent is an investment that brings large returns, both financially

(through increase in valuations) and in convenience. The Plan called for the purchase of about thirty-five thousand acres of forest preserves surrounding the city, of which area nearly one half has been secured. The three outer highway circuits and their connecting radials as recommended by the Plan are complete with the exception of about five per cent; and good roads are under construction.

In closing a report of ten years of progress the Chicago Plan Commission give this summation of the work:

Orderliness is one of the best investments a city can make, but the appeal of the Chicago Plan is by no means entirely a commercial appeal. It is a human appeal, a moral appeal, an appeal to make Chicago better, not for the money that is in it, but for the sake of the higher mental, moral, and physical people that a perfectly arranged city will produce.

The Plan of Chicago is not a panacea for all the civic ills that beset our city. It aims simply at the physical development of Chicago for the good of not one class of people or of one section of the city, but for the good of all Chicagoans — for the good of all Chicago.

No other city of modern times has been given a plan so comprehensive — one that proposes so many economic, hygienic, sociological, commercial, and humanitarian benefits — and one so thoroughly calculated to meet the needs of a vast and growing populace.

The ten years' work of the Chicago Plan Commission upon the Plan has been an effort to assist Chicago to fulfil its ambition to be the best, most orderly, healthful, convenient, and attractive city in America.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS—THE LONDON CITY-PLANNING CONFERENCE

1910

THEODORE ROOSEVELT in his "Autobiography" says: "I also appointed a Fine Arts Council, an unpaid body of the best architects, painters, and sculptors in the country, to advise the Government as to the erection and decoration of all new buildings. The 'pork-barrel' Senators and Congressmen felt for this body an instinctive, and perhaps from their standpoint a natural, hostility; and my successor a couple of months after taking office revoked the appointment and disbanded the Council."

This statement, in so far as it relates to President Taft, is ambiguous. In the Sundry Civil Act of March 4, 1909, Congress enacted "that no part of any appropriation made in this act shall be paid to members of the so-called Council of Fine Arts created by executive order under date of January 18, 1909, as compensation or for expenses; and no part of any such appropriation shall be expended in the preparation or formulation of any plans which have been submitted to, or approved or suggested by, said Council of Fine Arts." President Taft, as in duty bound, by executive order abolished the Council of Fine Arts.

President Roosevelt, feeling keenly the need that existed for competent technical advice on matters of art for which appropriations were made from time to time, listened to the

THE SOUTH SHORE DRIVE
From a water-color sketch by D. H. Burnham

representatives of the American Institute of Architects, and at his request they addressed to him a letter, dated January 11, 1909, saying that in our country the arts have been denied that governmental consideration so universally accorded by other nations, notwithstanding the fact that the Government had spent over five hundred million dollars on public buildings, monuments, and other works of art, and was contemplating spending forty millions more. "The works of art of a nation are the documents by which it is judged, and their permanence is sufficient reason for extraordinary care in their design and execution. When the Government proposes any great project of public utility, such as irrigation, canals, or the reclamation of land, the plans receive expert advice and criticism; but the only department where questions of art have received consideration was the Treasury Department through the Supervising Architect's office since the passage of the Tarsney Act. President Washington and his immediate successors sought trained experts in the arts and called to the service of the country those of the highest skill and employed them in a consistent effort towards the building of the Nation's Capital. As a result the earliest buildings of the Government, not only in Washington, but elsewhere, rank among the great architectural triumphs of their period.

"With the rapid growth of the country this systematic method of procedure was lost sight of. L'Enfant's beautiful plan of Washington suffered through the power of each department to choose the site for its own building; and the fact that a general plan existed was almost, if not entirely, forgotten. Existing public buildings are modified for the supposed convenience and at the caprice of temporary officials. New buildings are located

without proper regard for their convenience or dignity. And statues, paintings, and other works of art are treated with like indifference to the dictates of common sense. Our coinage and engraved notes have been equally neglected.

"The revival of L'Enfant's plan of the city of Washington through the efforts of the American Institute of Architects has awakened the public to a consciousness of its importance and made possible the realization of its essential features; but the necessity of some adequate safeguard for the future is made evident by the fact that ever since the plan was revived there have been serious attempts to encroach upon it. We believe that a permanent and definite authority should be established to which shall be referred for approval or disapproval the plans and designs for all future public works of architecture, paintings, sculpture, parks, bridges, or other works of which the art of design forms an integral part; that to its care should be entrusted the conservation of historic monuments; and that this authority should be vested in a Bureau of Fine Arts, as a part of a Division of Public Instruction, which could itself be under the Secretary of the Interior, and could include Bureaus of Education, Science, and the Fine Arts."

As an initiatory step President Roosevelt was urged to appoint a Council of the Fine Arts to exercise advisory functions and make recommendations upon its own initiative. The letter was signed by Glenn Brown as secretary of the Institute committee consisting of Cass Gilbert, S. B. P. Trowbridge, William A. Boring, C. Grant La Farge, George B. Post, and Robert S. Peabody.

President Roosevelt, on the same date, replied to the Institute letter; he approved the recommendations and asked for

the nomination of thirty men to form the Council. "I shall direct all my Cabinet officers to refer to the Council for their expert advice all matters in their charge embracing architecture, selection of sites and landscape work, sculpture and painting. Moreover, I shall request the Council to watch legislation and on its own initiative to make public recommendations to the Executive and to Congress with regard to proposed changes in existing monuments or with regard to any new project. I earnestly advise your body to take immediate steps to secure the enactment of a law giving permanent effect to what I am directing to be done. The course you advocate, and which I approve, should not be permissive with the Executive; it should be mandatory upon him, by act of Congress." Then, getting down to the concrete, the President adds: "I shall request the Council immediately to report and give their opinion on the character and location of the Lincoln Memorial."[1]

On the same day President Roosevelt issued an executive order addressed to the heads of "Executive Departments, Bureaus, and Commissions," directing that "before any plans are formulated for any buildings and grounds, or for the location or erection of any statue, the matter must be submitted to the Council, and their advice followed unless for good and sufficient reasons the President directs that it be not followed."

[1] On January 18 these men were appointed the Council of Fine Arts: Architects, Cass Gilbert, C. Grant La Farge, Walter Cook, William A. Boring, S. B. P. Trowbridge, John G. Howard, Glenn Brown, Thomas R. Kimball, John L. Mauran, D. H. Burnham, John M. Donaldson, George B. Post, Arnold W. Brunner, Robert S. Peabody, Charles F. McKim, William S. Eames, James Rush Marshall, Abram Garfield, Frank Miles Day, William B. Mundie, C. Howard Walker; Painters, John La Farge, F. D. Millet, E. H. Blashfield, Kenyon Cox; Sculptors, Daniel C. French, Herbert Adams, H. A. MacNeil, K. T. Bitter; Landscape Architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.

The Supervising Architect was designated as executive officer of the Council. On February 10 the members of the Council met at the Octagon, the headquarters of the Institute, for organization, and later in the day they were received by the President in the East Room of the White House. He addressed them in characteristic fashion; and called upon them for a report on a site for the Lincoln Memorial. They reported in favor of the location fixed by the Senate Park Commission of 1901. This was the first and last meeting of the Council. Congress, having taken umbrage at the action of the President in appointing a commission without authority of law, put an effective stop to proceedings by the legislation above adverted to. Neither Mr. Burnham nor Mr. Olmsted was present at the Council meeting, but Mr. McKim's name appears among the list of those attending. To Mr. Burnham so large a body must have seemed to preclude the possibility of effective work. With the abolition of the Council the whole movement on the part of the architects and artists collapsed.

The need of such technical advice was made apparent to Congress by the prolonged struggle that was carried on over the location of the Lincoln Memorial. In May, 1908, Representative McCall introduced in Congress a bill to locate the Memorial on the Plaza in front of the Union Station; and during the following December a House bill proposed a road to Gettysburg as the Memorial. Here matters rested till the beginning of 1909, when Senator Newlands embodied in a bill the proposition for the Potomac Park location.

On January 26, 1909, during the consideration of a resolution declaring Lincoln's birthday a holiday, Representative McCall, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the House Committee on the

THE CHICAGO PLAN EXHIBITED AT DÜSSELDORF, AUGUST, 1910

Library, made an argument for the location of the Lincoln Memorial somewhere in the area between the Capitol and the Union Station. "There are," he said, "three or more propositions for memorials to Lincoln. One is a road to Gettysburg; another is upon a location down below the Washington Monument and almost in its shadow, on the Potomac; and still another is the location near the Union Station. The location on the Potomac River is the one that appears in the so-called 'Burnham Plan' for the artistic development of Washington; and undoubtedly in the scheme of that park the location is fitted to some admirable work. When it is a question of fitness of a work of art to a given location, that is one thing, and the opinion of artists upon it is of very great value; but when they come to say the place shall be to Lincoln, or to any other particular statesman, that is a question that appeals to the historical imagination, of which the artist has no monopoly. There is something I think important to bring to the attention of the House and the Country, which may somewhat surprise some gentlemen who are so simultaneously and unanimously defending the Burnham Plan, and that is a cablegram received some days ago from a gentleman to whom my friend from Illinois alluded — Mr. Burnham — one of the great architects of the world — a man who probably more carefully than any other architect has made a study of the question, how to beautify Washington — a man whose own name is imperishably identified with the Plan to which I have alluded."

Mr. McCall then read the following cablegram:

London, January 22

Three or four different ways of memorializing Lincoln have been proposed.

The choice depends largely on sentiment, of which Congress itself is the best judge.

But entirely apart from sentiment, a monumental architectural treatment of the entranceway to the Capitol is demanded by every consideration of artistic unity and of sober propriety; and there is not a shadow of a doubt that a peristyle, extending around the Plaza and up Delaware Avenue, as shown by us before I left for Europe, is the right solution.

The design should be carried out, no matter what name it bears.

D. H. BURNHAM

Mr. Burnham's cable was sent under a misapprehension of the facts. When he landed the matter was placed before him in its true light, and he promptly gave adherence to the site fixed in the Plan of 1901. He felt the necessity of some treatment to frame the Plaza; and he was willing to consider that site even for the Lincoln Memorial. He would then have consented to discuss any other proposed site, as he afterwards did. The decision, however, was another matter; that should be reached only after all possible sites had been considered. His attitude, and the dramatic use made of his cablegram by Mr. McCall, created a temporary panic among forces fighting for the Plan of 1901, and Mr. Burnham was stigmatized as a deserter.

Mr. McCall next attempted to have a commission on the site created, and named Mr. Burnham and Mr. McKim among the members; both declined to allow their names to be used, and nothing came of this bill.[1]

President Taft appointed Mr. Burnham chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts established by the act of Congress of May 17, 1910. It is doubtful whether Burnham had

[1] Glenn Brown, in *The American Architect*, October 20, 1920.

knowledge of this legislation while it was pending; but when he and Mrs. Burnham were visiting at Theodore N. Ely's home in Bryn Mawr, on May 7, Frank Millet came from Washington to talk over matters relating to the American Academy in Rome. Millet told Burnham about "the new Washington Commission for that city," and asked him "to join." He said he preferred to see the text of the bill before deciding. The appointments were dated June 15, 1910.

In making his selection the President consulted the men in Congress who were instrumental in securing the legislation; and at the time the act was passed his secretary was Charles D. Norton, who had been chairman of the Chicago Plan Committee. Senators Root and Wetmore approved the list, and probably had a hand in the selections.

The legislative history of the act reveals both the Congressional attitude towards matters of art, and also the grievances of Congress against artists as directors of the development of the city of Washington. "I do not by any means claim to have been the discoverer of the importance of having a National Commission of Fine Arts," writes the Honorable Samuel McCall, "but I strongly believed such a commission should be established, and so I prepared and introduced the bill. It was referred to the Committee on the Library and reported back to the House by me."[1]

On February 9 Mr. McCall called up his bill and explained that Washington had had a very haphazard development in the way of art.

[1] McCall to Charles Moore, September 6, 1917. Mr. McCall was a member of Congress from 1893 to 1915; Governor of Massachusetts, 1916–18; he is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

The streets and squares [he said] are filled up with art-objects that are not always art. There have been commissions to operate on one statue or another, but there has been no well-thought-out development. Every civilized country in the world has a commission of art. In France they have a cabinet minister of public education, of crafts, and of the fine arts. The present bill is modest; it does not assume jurisdiction over the whole country; but this commission of artists will have a somewhat similar jurisdiction to that marked out in the letter of President Roosevelt creating or establishing "a council of fine arts." The President of the United States had no power to create a council of fine arts and give them any definite legal authority; and yet there should be such a council established by Congress.

Thereupon a characteristic debate ensued. Mr. Mann, of Illinois, brought up the example of the Agricultural Department wings, and asked sarcastically if it was artistic to build two portions of a building when Congress expected a complete structure, or to place the first story below the level of the ground, as was done at the request or by the direction of the President, based upon the opinion of an art committee or commission. "A future place will not be hot enough to properly singe the man responsible for that building." "Who did it?" asked Mr. Slayden. "President Roosevelt ordered it done," replied Mr. Mann, "at the request of the Burnham Art Commission!"

Mr. McCall sought to pour oil on the troubled waters by giving as an instance the recent Barry statue controversy which had divided the country into two hostile camps. He desired a commission of artists to settle such questions.

Mr. Mann would not be appeased. Then Mr. Sulzer, of New York, took up the cudgels. The same commission, he asserted,

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO, SHOWING THE WIDENING AND EXTENSION OF MICHIGAN AVENUE NORTHWARD TO LAKE MICHIGAN INCLUDING A TWO-LEVEL BRIDGE — AN ACCOMPLISHED PROJECT

From a rendering by Jules Guérin

put the Grant Monument in the Botanic Gardens. Mr. Mann corrected him. The Grant Memorial was located by a special commission created by act of Congress — but that commission acted at the request and upon the demand of this unauthorized commission. Then Mr. Tawney, of Minnesota, made a correction "in the interest of truth." The Committee on Appropriations fixed the location of the Grant Memorial, going contrary to the Committee on the Library. On the whole, Mr. Sulzer said he favored the bill, in spite of previous shortcomings of the artistic fraternity; but Mr. Tawney opposed it because he was opposed to government by commission. He did not believe that the statues of Washington, present or to come, would be improved by the appointment of "a sky-line commission," which would assume authority whether Congress authorized it or not. Artists, he said, "are a class of men who do not know anything about law, and respect it less when it interferes with what they believe to be the artistic line along which we should go in the erection of memorials, buildings, and monuments; they will not look very far into the question of their authority; they will follow only the artistic ideals they may have conceived in their own brains."

Mr. Mann, returning to the charge, said:

It is common knowledge that the President, at the request of this sky-line commission, met the gentlemen here in Washington, had a considerable consultation with them morning, afternoon, and evening, and at the end, rather contrary to the opinion of the President, he yielded to the opinion of the art commission and requested the Secretary of Agriculture to adopt the plan which was finally adopted. Now, the President cannot be criticised for that. He was doing that which we think ought not to be permitted to be made the law, but he was acting

on the same theory that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Slayden] is talking — that the artists know better about things of common sense than men of common sense do.

Mr. Slayden. Mr. Chairman, I do not understand that the taking of advice from gentlemen trained in art necessarily carries with it the obligation to violate the law.

One of the most valuable features of this bill is the fact that the commission, which will be composed of men who are qualified for the work by training and experience, will be employed not only to give advice, but will have the authority to select the artists for the execution of works of art. I wish, Mr. Chairman, with all my heart, that that law had governed in the selection of the artists to do that work, examples of which we now find in Statuary Hall.

Mr. Slayden having switched the debate on the line of the benefits derived by the city of New York from its art commission, Mr. Parsons spoke warmly of the work of that body. Then Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin, obtained the floor.

The gentleman from New York [he said] stated that the location of the Grant statue at the base of Capitol Hill outraged the feelings of everybody in Congress and out of it. He said that the men who fixed the location of that statue were artists, but lacked practical sense. Let us see. Saint-Gaudens, the very greatest of American sculptors — I will go further than that and say a sculptor whose genius is unrivalled in this generation anywhere in the world — Saint-Gaudens was a member of the commission who helped to locate the Grant statue in that place. Who else? Olmsted, the very first of our landscape gardeners. Who else? McKim, one of the world's greatest architects. Who else? Burnham, another of the world's famous architects. I do not recollect who the others were.

["The other members," interposed Mr. Parsons, "were Senator Root, when Secretary of War, and later on President Taft, when he was Secretary of War, and the report of the commission was unanimous."]

Yes, [continued Mr. Cooper], the members of the commission were gentlemen who had devoted their lives to the study of the artistic — in sculpture, landscape gardening, and architecture — and they were the men who located the monument to General Grant in the place where it now stands. They were artists; but somebody has said that they had no practical sense. Let us take the "practical" men of the commission. I would like to ask the gentleman from New York and also the gentleman from Minnesota and the gentleman from Illinois, who want practical people to decide these questions, do they know of a man of more practical, more calm, more deliberate judgment than Elihu Root?

Elihu Root went as a witness before the Library Committee. He said that after considering thoroughly the question as to where the Grant Memorial should be erected, after searching the whole city through, all the members of the commission were of the opinion that the only place in Washington where it could be properly placed with justice to the great structure, which is 240 feet long on the base, was just where it is to-day.

The opposition to the site selected for the Grant statue is primarily attributable to the fact that critics have not stopped to exercise their imaginations long enough to see what the conditions about the memorial will be when all of the contemplated improvements have been perfected. Apparently the gentleman from New York thinks that the high fence, the old brick house, and the old glass houses are to stay there, and that Grant is to be hidden behind all that mass of stuff. Not at all. The fences are to be taken down and the buildings to go away. They are an eyesore. The fences will be removed, the buildings taken away, and trees and shrubbery removed and rearranged so that the statue of Grant will be seen by practically every stranger who visits the city of Washington.

Ulysses S. Grant was one of the world's great characters and his monument ought to occupy a conspicuous place in the Capital of the Nation he did so much to save. The plan of the Burnham Commission is the memorial to Grant at the base of Capitol Hill, beautifully surrounded, in the handsomest square

of its size in the world; in the centre of the Mall, midway to the Potomac, the Monument to Washington; and on the shore of the river a magnificent memorial to Abraham Lincoln — Grant, Washington, Lincoln — and from the Lincoln Monument a beautiful memorial bridge to Arlington, where sleep the Nation's dead.

The conception is magnificent. The foremost artists in America devised it. We are not obliged to follow it, and yet I think that it will be the consensus of opinion, based upon a study of the plans, that nothing so fine has been proposed for any other city in the world. We will not carry it out in our generation, but I believe that ultimately the people of the United States will carry it to completion.

The Burnham Commission has been very roughly treated — the commission which proposed the new plan for the improvement of Washington. They have been denounced in unmeasured terms as impractical and visionary. Now, let us see what the practical people did. This House of Representatives a few years ago voted into the Mall forever a great railroad station to cut that park in two and spoil the view from the Capitol to the river. That was what the practical men asked for; but McKim and Burnham and other men, who thought Washington deserved something better than that, insisted that there should be a Union Station and that a building should not be permitted to cut that beautiful park in two.

I voted against the location of that station in that park. I did not do it because I was a "sky-line" architect, but because I thought it only ordinary justice to future generations of Washingtonians not needlessly to spoil that beautiful park. Nor did I think that a great Baltimore and Ohio station should be put at the foot of Capitol Hill on the other side, and I voted against that. The artists, gentlemen like Burnham and McKim and Olmsted, said that two stations would be a fatal mistake. McKinley thought the same thing, and finally the splendid Union Station was decided upon, and there it will stand, an object of beauty, as long as Washington endures.

I shall not support a bill simply because a commission of

THE BURNHAM ARCHITECTURAL LIBRARY, CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE

artists think that it ought to be enacted into law. Nevertheless, when it comes to the location of statues, when it comes to the location of monuments, I shall defer almost every time to the judgment of men like McKim, if another should take his place, and Saint-Gaudens, if another should take his place, and Burnham, and therefore I shall support this bill.

Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, spoke warmly in favor of the bill and against limitations as to the expenses of the commission; and then, after desultory debate, Mr. McCall skilfully landed his fish without a division.

Mr. Root called the bill up in the Senate on May 3, stating that it had been reported unanimously from the Committee on the Library. The bill was debated on that day and the day following; Senators Heyburn, of Idaho, and Senator Carter, of Montana, opposed the measure, and Senators Lodge and Gallinger favored it. Mr. Root adroitly spoke only in answer to questions or to oppose briefly some hostile amendment; and in due time the bill was agreed to. The Senate having by a single amendment rewritten the bill, it was sent to a conference committee from which it emerged in present form.

The act makes it the duty of the Commission "to advise upon the location of statues, fountains, and monuments in the public squares, streets, and parks of the District of Columbia, and upon the selection of models for statues, fountains, and monuments erected under the authority of the United States, and upon the selection of artists for the execution of the same"; and it is the duty of officers charged by law to determine such questions, to call for such advice. The Commission, further, shall advise generally upon questions of art when required to do so by the President or by any committee of either House of

Congress. On October 25, 1910, President Taft enlarged the jurisdiction of the Commission by an executive order to the effect that no public building to be erected in the District of Columbia for the General Government shall be hereafter approved by the officer authorized until after such officer shall have submitted the plans to the Commission of Fine Arts for its comment and advice.[1]

The first meeting of the Commission was held in rooms assigned by the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, on the fourth floor of the Lemon Building, No. 1729 New York Avenue, on July 8, 1910. All the members excepting Mr. French and Mr. Gilbert were present. Mr. French took his seat at the fourth meeting held on November 19; and Mr. Gilbert was present for the first time on January 13, 1911. The first meeting with a full attendance was on May 18, 1911. Mr. Burnham attended fourteen formal meetings of the Commission, being absent only from the meeting of November 19, 1910, when he was in Europe.

The members of the Commission were well known to one another. Mr. Olmsted as a boy had been with his father at the Chicago Fair; he was associated with Mr. Burnham in the preparation of the Washington Plan of 1901, and had been a

[1] By the acts of Congress approved June 12, 1858, and March 3, 1859, the President was authorized to appoint an art commission to select the artists to decorate the extension of the Capitol, then nearing completion. On May 15, 1859, President Buchanan appointed Henry K. Brown, sculptor, and James R. Lambkin and John F. Kensett, painters. The commission submitted only one report (that of January 22, 1860), in which they criticised the work of Brumidi in decorating the Capitol in the style of Raphael and advised the employment of American artists. Congress promptly abolished the commission and in 1910 excluded the Capitol and the Library of Congress from the jurisdiction of the National Commission of Fine Arts. (Glenn Brown's *History of the Capitol*, vol. II, p. 173.)

member both of the so-called Consultative Board and of President Roosevelt's abortive Council of the Fine Arts. Mr. Hastings, with his partner, the late John Carrère, had been employed by Congress to design the Senate and House office buildings. Mr. French designed the Statue of the Republic at the Chicago Fair, and was then, as he is now, one of the leading American sculptors. Mr. Millet was the director of decorations at the Fair, and was an intimate friend of Mr. Burnham. Mr. Gilbert had been one of the Jury of Fine Arts at Chicago and president of the American Institute of Architects. Charles Moore, the lay member, had accompanied the Senate Park Commission on their European trip, had prepared the report on the Washington Plan of 1901 and also that on the Plan of Chicago. Colonel Cosby brought to his work as secretary[1] a knowledge of the Washington Plan and entire sympathy with it, and also with the aim of the Commission to establish that plan as the basis for its recommendations in the development of the Capital.

Mr. Burnham's authority, by reason of his association with the plans of Washington, Manila, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Chicago, was such as to make the beginnings of the Commission auspicious. The members quickly established a routine, and as submissions came in from various officers of the Government, precedents were established. While discussion was active and often prolonged, yet the fundamental point of view was the same, and it was easy to reach an agreement. After the close of a meeting, the Commission would gather

[1] Under the law the officer in charge of Public Buildings and Grounds is *ex officio* secretary and executive officer of the Commission of Fine Arts, a wise provision, because most of the work brought before the Commission originates in his office.

around the dinner-table and prolong the discussions until the midnight trains dispersed the party. At times a meeting occupied two days.

The first subject of large importance was the question of the Lincoln Memorial, which came before the Commission during its first year. The act of Congress providing for this memorial specifically authorized the Lincoln Memorial Commission to avail itself of the services or advice of the Commission of Fine Arts. Accordingly the Memorial Commission, of which President Taft was the chairman, on March 4, 1911, asked the Fine Arts Commission for suggestions as to the location, plans, and designs for the proposed memorial. Also as to the best method of selecting artists, sculptors, and architects to make and execute the designs. The Lincoln Commission specifically asked advice as to several locations: First, the axis of Delaware Avenue at some point between the Capitol and the Union Station; secondly, the axis of the new avenue to be constructed between the Peace Monument and the Union Station Plaza, or some other portion of the area purchased for the extension of the Capitol grounds on the north; and, lastly, the site in Potomac Park recommended in the report of 1901, or any other location that might seem to the Commission suitable.

The report of the Commission, rendered July 17, 1911, took up in detail the various sites suggested by the Lincoln Commission, discussing each one separately, and reported that the Potomac Park site should be chosen. Mr. Burnham was the leader in the discussion in favor of this site. This conclusion on his part was reached after extensive study, in which sketches were made for every possible solution of the problem he could think of for a location between the Capitol and the Station.

THE LINCOLN MEMORIA
From a renderi

(HENRY BACON, ARCHITECT)
by Jules Guérin

From the beginning to the end of the discussion, involving the preparation of a comprehensive report, Mr. Burnham never wavered. Whatever may have been the thought in his mind when he cabled what was hailed as a tentative approval of the Plaza site, there was no longer any hesitation.[1]

With the Commission the fundamental contention was that the memorial to Abraham Lincoln should stand on the axis with the Capitol and the Washington Monument — the conception announced in the report of the Park Commission of 1901. The latter Commission had the vision of Potomac Park as improved by the development of roads and a connection with Rock Creek Park. To the man on the Hill, however, all other considerations seemed subordinate to placing the memorial where the greatest number of people would pass it day by day — an idea entirely foreign to the conception of the Commission. With much effect the opinion of John Hay, in favor of the Potomac Park site, was quoted in these words:

As I understand it, the place of honor is on the main axis of the plan. Lincoln of all Americans next to Washington deserves this place of honor. He was of the immortals. You must not approach too close to the immortals. His monument should stand alone, remote from the common habitations of man, apart from the business and turmoil of the city; isolated, distinguished, and serene. Of all the sites, this one, near the Potomac, is most suited to the purpose.[2]

[1] The Lincoln Memorial Commission reported to Congress that they had selected the Potomac Park site; but the proponents of the Lincoln Highway were well organized and aggressive, and they undertook to amend the act of Congress so as to prepare the way for a highway. The matter was taken up by an organization which secured counsel to present the case, meantime arousing the art interests of the country. A timely speech by Senator Root showing that speculative real-estate interests were behind the road project was the most potent influence exerted against the road proposition. (See Hearings of March 5 and 6, 1912, before H.R. Committee on the Library.)

[2] Mr. Hay died on July 1, 1905. The quotation has a strange history.

The Lincoln Memorial Commission having asked advice in regard to a selection of an architect, the Commission of Fine Arts reported in favor of a direct selection and were sent back to agree upon a man. In the Plan of 1901 a Lincoln Memorial design was furnished by Charles McKim, who had reached in his own mind the conclusion as to the form the memorial should take; namely, a building with strong horizontal lines, as opposed to the vertical lines of the Washington Monument. He designed an open portico, with a high terrace overlooking a long canal leading towards the Washington Monument. The portico was to take the form of an open arcade, and the statue of Lincoln was located apart from and in front of the structure. The portico was to stand on a mound forty feet in height, and the base was so designed as to form a transition from the rectangular form of the portico to the circle of the mound. McKim furthermore prepared a design for the improvement of the entire Potomac Park from the Washington Monument westwardly to the Potomac.

Mr. Burnham strongly urged the selection of Henry Bacon, on whom he believed the mantle of McKim had fallen. Mr. Bacon had been trained in the office of McKim, Mead & White, and had shown a strong feeling for monumental work. Moreover, Mr. Burnham felt that his mind was still plastic and that he would seize this opportunity to establish his reputation.

The Lincoln Memorial Commission hesitated, insisting on having sketches for several other sites in Washington prepared

During Mr. McKim's last illness he was visited by Cass Gilbert and Glenn Brown, for the purpose of getting his views on the location of the Lincoln Memorial. Sitting back in his chair, his eyes almost closed, he repeated to Mr. Gilbert his remembrance of the words used by Mr. Hay. Mr. Gilbert was so impressed by the sentiments that he wrote out the statement and gave it to Richard Watson Gilder.

by John Russell Pope. These sketches, together with those of Mr. Bacon, were sent to the Fine Arts Commission for a final choice. The Commission decided in favor of Mr. Bacon's design, which was thereupon adopted by the Lincoln Commission.

The site was still a bothersome question. Representative Cannon, with characteristic tenacity, was determined that some other site than that in Potomac Park should be selected. He suggested the Soldiers' Home, and finally took refuge in Arlington, in favor of which latter site he counted on the support of the Southern members of the Commission. Frank Millet, happening to hear that the Lincoln Commission was to meet the next day, and that Mr. Cannon proposed to urge the Arlington site, went to Representative Slayden, chairman of the House Committee on the Library, and told him that Mr. Cannon meant to carry the Arlington site with the help of Speaker Champ Clark and Senator Money. "It would never do," said Mr. Millet with a twinkle in his eye, "for this Republic to adopt the custom of the ancient Romans, by erecting the monument of the conqueror on the lands of the conquered. Arlington belongs to the sacred South, and to erect a memorial to Lincoln there would be an affront to the Southern people."

This point of view Mr. Slayden communicated to Speaker Clark. The next day, when the location of the Lincoln Memorial came up, President Taft called on Senator Cullom for an expression of his views. The aged Senator waved aside the question of location, saying that he was interested primarily in having the memorial begun during his lifetime. Then Speaker Clark was called upon. Settling himself back in his chair, he said slowly, and with great impressiveness: "I, for one, will never consent to the erection of the Lincoln Memorial in any

part of the South. We should not imitate the custom of the ancient Romans by placing a memorial of the conqueror in the territory of the conquered." President Taft, quick to see the advantage presented, turned to Mr. Cannon and said: "Well, Uncle Joe, it seems that you and I will have to give up Arlington." So the matter was settled.

On the afternoon of September 10, 1910, Miss Dorothy Fuller and William B. Vanter were married on the terrace at the Burnham home in Evanston, in the presence of some three hundred wedding guests. Two days later Mr. and Mrs. Burnham and Mr. and Mrs. Wells went on board the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse and sailed for France, having for company the Butlers of Chicago and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Abbott, who were returning to Rome.

On October 9 the party arrived in London. The Diary rapidly tells the story of the next few days:

October 10. Went to a reception at 9.30 A.M. at the Royal Institute Rooms in Conduit Street; thence to the Royal Academy, where we saw many distinguished people. Home to lunch and then heard John Burns speak in Guild Hall, also the Mayor of London. Found Ben Holden [1] and he remained all day with us. At night worked on paper. Bed at 11 P.M. at Claridge's. Got a wire from Hubert that a daughter was born to them in Paris.

October 11. Up early and had foot doctored. Worked on paper with stenographer until 3 P.M., when the Denell ladies came in. Called on Ambassador Reid at Dorchester House and made an appointment to dine there on the 13th of October.

October 12. Denell's [2] stenographer came over, and he and

[1] Ben Holden, assistant to E. H. Bennett on the Chicago Plan, was sent to arrange the exhibition of drawings first in London and then in Desseldorf.

[2] Reuben Denell was the resident manager in London for J. G. White

THE WOODS AT THE BURNHAM HOME, EVANSTON

TERRACE OVERLOOKING LAKE MICHIGAN AT MR. BURNHAM'S HOME, EVANSTON

D. H. B. worked until 2 P.M., and after lunch worked until late afternoon. Banquet at Cecil Hotel. Whole party went and D. H. B. spoke to toast of "Our Guests."

October 13. D. H. B. and party breakfasted together. D. H. B. went to No. 9 Conduit Street and presided at a meeting with Mr. E. A. Abbey as his vice-chairman. Evening dined with Butler at the American Ambassador's at Dorchester House with twenty men. Then went to a reception at the Lord Mayor's Mansion House — all the party present.

October 14. D. H. B. went to 9 Conduit Street and read his paper twice on the "City of the Future under a Democracy." Then went to the Royal Academy with Butler, Ben Holden, and Dr. Hagerman of Berlin. Met Mr. Whitelaw Reid going into the Royal Academy.

October 15. D. H. B. and Butler went to the National Gallery, then called and left p.p.c.'s on the men of the Town-Planning Conference.

October 16. D. H. B. and party ran seventeen miles out of London south to the home of Leonard Stokes, where they lunched with a party of twenty and remained to tea, then brought the Hagermans home to dinner.

October 17. D. H. B. and wife called on Reuben Deuell and family at their home on Tregunter Road.

What happened was a town-planning conference held in London under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects, for which occasion Mr. Burnham had been preparing for several months. The keynote of the conference, as Professor Beresford Pitt expressed it, was this: "The glory of a city is its grandeur: the gracious width of its streets, the adjusted proportions of its squares, and accompanying these of necessity healthy spaciousness and ordered amenities."

From all Europe and America authorities on town planning

& Company of New York, builders of the Selfridge Stores and of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange.

came together to discuss methods and problems, to present conclusions, and to encourage one another. To this conference Mr. Burnham had sent drawings of the Washington and Chicago plans prepared in a manner to excite an admiration freely and frequently expressed by the speakers.[1]

John Burns, the Parliamentary champion of town planning, welcomed the delegates to "the London that Wren beautified, which William Blake idealized in his phantasies, which Milton described as 'the mansion house of liberty,' and which William Dunbar four hundred years ago described as 'the flower of cities all.'" Field-Marshal Kitchener presided at the final meeting, which discussed the plans of Khartoum. The Lord Mayor of London and the City Council received the delegates at the Mansion House and Guildhall; the American Ambassador, Whitelaw Reid, gave a reception at Dorchester House, and a banquet at Hotel Cecil encouraged the sense of fellowship and good-comradeship which was a marked feature of the conference.

[1] "If the Royal Institute of British Architects had done nothing more than organize the Exhibition now on view . . . a great and beneficial work would have been accomplished. . . .

"The most striking exhibits are the two that fill the large gallery, the schemes for the improvement of Chicago, U.S.A., exhibited by Mr. D. H. Burnham, and those for Washington, U.S.A., sent by the American Society of Architects. These show the failure in modern estimation of the prevalent type of American city plan, founded on the gridiron system, with its rectangular blocks. In the case of both Chicago and Washington it is realized that a city to be a living organism must have a heart, and the main arteries must be connected with it. The centre of administration is the appropriate civic centre for such a city as Chicago. We think the scheme shown by Mr. Burnham is, from an æsthetic point of view, marred by the colossal character of the administration building, although we recognize the difficulty that the existence of sky-scrapers imposes upon the designer who desires his civic centre to be dominant. The scheme for Washington is admirable and a fine example of the grand manner in town planning." (*The Architect and Contract Reporter, October* 14, 1910.)

The meeting on Thursday was perhaps more crowded with interest and even more international in character than the other meetings. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Daniel H. Burnham of Chicago, papers on City Development and Extension were read by Mr. W. E. Riley, superintending architect of the London City Council, Dr. Ing. H. J. Stübben and Professor Eberstadt of Berlin, M. Eugène Hénard and M. Augustin Rey of Paris, and Mr. Raymond Unwin.[1]

Mr. Burnham, as Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, U.S.A., spoke on the future of cities under a democratic Government and of the town-planning work executed in the United States.

The inception of great planning of public buildings and grounds in the United States [he said] was in the World's Fair in Chicago. The beauty of its arrangement and of its buildings made a profound impression not merely upon the highly educated part of the community, but still more perhaps upon the masses, and this impression has been a lasting one. As a first result of the object lesson the Government took up the torch and proceeded to make a comprehensive plan for the future development of the capital. Since then every considerable town in the country has gone into this study, and there are many hundreds of plan commissions at work at the present time throughout the United States. Then came the plan of Manila, capital of the Philippines, made under Mr. Taft, who was then Secretary for War, the initiative having come from him personally. Next came Cleveland, Ohio, which State passed a special law in order to allow large towns to employ expert commissioners, who are to design the public thoroughfares and parks and to act as censors in all public art matters. Then came San Francisco, where an association of private men undertook to back the work; then Chicago, where the work was undertaken by the Commercial Club, which appointed a committee of fifteen of its members to conduct the enterprise. The

[1] Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, October 22, 1910.

work of preparing the suggestions is by no means completed, but in Chicago there have been in three years two hundred meetings of the General Committee, at which hundreds of public men — engineers, architects, sanitary, railroad, city transportation and other experts — were present.

There was not one man of the fifteen who was not at the head of some great business, and who was not loaded with the heaviest kind of responsibilities of his own; and yet they all made it a point of honor to be in their seats when the chairman called to order, and not for a week or two or a month or two, but most faithfully through years; and it is everywhere the same.

There are many more instances, all going to show that the deep interest taken in the subject throughout the world marks not a passing fancy, but a definite step in the development of man; it means that humanity, which has been moved by the changeable feelings and fitful purposes of its own youthfulness, is about to put on the *toga virilis*.

Many different plans may be made for any given town, and each of them may be a good one; and we may rest assured that in a few years more every considerable town in the world will possess one. But in addition to drawings and texts, we have left the most difficult task of all, namely, the awakening of public interest in favor of any comprehensive plan and the raising of the public purpose up to a level of definite action.

Will not the people of a continuing democracy awaken some time to the fact that they can possess as a community what they cannot as individuals; and will they not then demand delightfulness as a part of life, and get it? The realization of this will not be long coming, if one may judge from the growth of public improvement in the last few years. The men of 1850 knew much, but those of 1910 know enough more to make their work seem marvellous in contrast, and we may be sure that the men of 1960 will regard us as we do our predecessors. But it is not merely in the number of facts or sorts of knowledge that progress lies: it is still more in the geometric ratio of sophistication, in the geometric widening of the sphere of knowledge, which

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, SHERMAN PARK, CHICAGO

every year is taking in a larger percentage of people as time goes on. And remember that knowledge brings desire, and desire brings action. A mighty change having come about in fifty years, and our pace of development having immensely accelerated, our sons and grandsons are going to demand and get results that would stagger us. Remember that a noble logical diagram once recorded will never die; long after we are gone it will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency; and, above all, remember that the greatest and noblest that man can do is yet to come, and that this will ever be so, else is evolution a myth.[3]

The banquet at Hotel Cecil on October 12 was presided over by the president of the Institute, Mr. Leonard Stokes, who had with him at the high table the Right Honorable John Burns, Mr. E. A. Abbey, Sir L. Alma-Tadema, Mr. Burnham, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Sir George Frampton, Mr. F. L. Lutgens, M. Edouard Renard, Sir Aston Webb, the Right Honorable Lord Redesdale, and others equally distinguished.

Sir Aston Webb,[4] in proposing the toast to "Our Guests," and after referring by name to the representatives from France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Australia, Canada, and the United States,[5] coupled with the toast Mr. Burnham, and acknowledged "the courtesy of the President of the United States, who at the request of Mr. Whitelaw Reid, was good enough to allow us to have the Washington drawings, which are one of the great beauties of our exhibition." Mr. Burnham, responding to the toast, said:

I deeply appreciate the honor of responding to the toast so

[3] *The Architect and Contract Reporter*, October 21, 1910.

[4] Sir Aston Webb was the last surviving of the gold medal of the American Institute of Architects, in 1896. He is now the president of the British Royal Academy.

[5] Mr. Edward Kent represented the American Institute of Architects.

eloquently proposed by the distinguished gentleman who has just taken his seat. I presume that this honor is not conferred upon me personally, but because I am an American, and my country has been said to represent the cosmopolitan blood of other nations; so that in a sense my response is intended undoubtedly to be that of Germany, of Italy, and of many other nations, all of whom are of us as they are at home. The history of the present movement of town planning is very short: it goes back less than ten years. Of course preceding that there had been town-planning epochs: principally that in France, followed by those in Austria and Italy; but that of to-day is not more than ten years old. During the last ten years there has been manifested, at first fitfully here and there, but soon more constantly over large sections of the civilized world, an intense interest in town planning. The work, however, up to the present time, has been done in a disjointed manner, because the best that any one nation can do for itself cannot be equal to that done by them all working together and interchanging their ideas; and those who have been the most deeply engaged in this work, and most earnest in the prosecution of it, have constantly felt that they need a sort of university which they may attend; and it does not surprise us that London has become such a university. England may be slow — she is as compared with us in alertness, in quickness to take hold — but we all know the old story that when she does it is like the roar of a lion, the rest of the voices in the forest are no longer heard.

So we come to London as guests; and what do you offer us? Food and wine, flowers, the faces of fair women and noble men. But you do much more than that. Your hospitality is of the kind which affords the greatest opportunity that could now fall to the lot of those who are interested in the study of town planning — the opportunity to meet and to see the best work of others. You have that work in magnificent rooms, and I must say here, most superbly hung and arranged, and now we can look into each other's eyes, and we can hear each other's voices, and we can get the true meaning of the other man's

thought. This enriches us beyond measure. No man can go away from this Conference without carrying sheaves more valuable than those he brought. He will go home with humility — the necessary foundation for an artist; his work will be more humbly done, perhaps, but there will be more power to realize his purpose. It is an occasion where we are guests in an epoch. What is happening here is no light matter. Men have been struggling towards this point since the dawn of history. All history is filled with preluding attempts here and there — of Nero, of Constantine, of Augustus, of Pericles, of Louis Napoleon, all having some effect locally and for a time, but then passing away. That is not the case now. Men have come shoulder to shoulder up to a certain level, and now stand on a certain platform of human advancement never before reached, and they are not going to recede. This city planning means something far deeper than the mere shaping of streets. It means that men have come to realize a universal thought. In America there are hundreds of city-planning commissions, in Germany there are hundreds of them — I have been told there are two thousand. We hear of them in Japan, in Australia. The idea has become universal, and it is not possible to think of it as an ephemeral thing; it means that the nations have come together in a line up to a certain stage of advancement. I thank you very much in the name of the guests for this great opportunity. I feel that when we come to leave our work to our surrogate, or speak to our sons perhaps for the last time, many of us will say, "The proudest moment of my life was in London at the Town-Planning Conference of the Royal Institute of British Architects."

The conference ended, the Burnham party hastened to Paris to greet the new granddaughter, born at the American Hospital, and saw mother and child safely bestowed in their flat, 695 Boulevard Raspail. Then, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Butler they made various excursions to the towns about Paris, spending Mrs. Burnham's birthday (November 9) at

Chartres and Versailles and ending with a celebration in the Butler apartment.

Next came a rapid trip to Strassburg and Oberammergau to witness the performance of the Passion Play. They lodged at the house of Anton Lang, who took the part of the Christ.

On November 23 the Burnhams went to sleep at the Grand Hotel, Biarritz, "hearing the sound of the sea beneath their windows." Then came in rapid succession Burgos; the Escorial; Madrid and "the glorious pictures of Velasquez, Murillo, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Rubens; Seville and the Cathedral, Alcazar, and the old Roman town of Italica; Granada and the Alhambra; Cordova and its mosque."

December 8. Took an early train for Saragossa. We passed through a wonderful country. Went to the Grand Hotel Universo; saw the superb church, the interior colors under the noon sunlight were very fine. Five aisles, warm, purplish gray stone. Very rich doorways and architraves to the side and end chapels. All gold, gold, gold. Called La Seo (Saint Savior).

December 9. To Barcelona.

December 10. Took the train to Nîmes and had a wonderful day, seeing superb orchards of limes, and grapes; the mountains and the sea. We dined out of our basket of lunch on the train.

December 11. Ran to Arles. Saw the theatre, amphitheatre, old Byzantine church front and Museum. Got lunch at a small hotel by the statue of Mistral, under the trees in the public square, and then ran on to Le Beau Château, high up on a hill; then to San Rémy.

December 12. Saw Le Pont du Gard, a magnificent old Roman aqueduct, then started for Orange, but found that the inundations had cut off the route, and instead we went to Avignon, which we had difficulty in reaching, as we had to go around. There we saw the Pope's old château, the church on the hill, and the terrace park near it.

December 13. At Nîmes. Saw the amphitheatre and the

AUDITORIUM, SHERMAN PARK, CHICAGO

Roman baths and Temple, and the long vista of boulevard from the baths. Then ran to St. Giles, where we saw the ancient Byzantine church fronts; then to Aigue-Mort, with its sea-side castle of St. Louis; and in the enclosed town we lunched at Hotel St. Louis; afterwards ran two or three miles out on the mole extending into the Mediterranean — salt works on one side and fisheries along the long water channel.

December 14. Arrived in Paris.

December 19. D. H. B. and Hubert arrived in Rome. Called at Villa Mirafiore. Saw Crowninshield and wife, and the studios. Dined at Villa Mirafiore with the boys.

December 20. Roger Burnham called. Went to the Forum, dropping Roger on the way; then to the Borghese Gardens, Villa Medici, and Piazza del Popolo; lunched with the Abbotts at their villa; then to the churches Maria della Maggiore, St. John Lateran and St. Paul without the walls.

December 21. Called on Crowninshield; went to Caracalla baths, Diocletian Museum, St. Peter's in Vinculo, and saw Angelo's Moses; to Castle St. Angelo, the Pantheon, and out on the Appian Way.

December 22. After breakfast walked to the church, Michael Angelo's interior near the Baths of Diocletian; then got a taxi and went on to the sculpture gallery of the Vatican; thence to lunch with Marchese de Vita de Marco, "Il Poggio"; thence by taxi to the Vatican, the Borghese Gardens, the Barbarini, and the Medici.

December 24. Arrived in Paris at 7 A.M. Had dinner at a restaurant in the Latin Quarter. The three Roots, J. Holabird, Elizabeth White, Geraldine Wyman, the Huberts, Kitty Hotchkiss, with a Navy friend of Hubert's, and ourselves.

December 25. Spent most of the day with the children here and in their apartment. Hubert and D. H. B. called on ex-Ambassador Henry White and wife. She was just recovering from appendicitis.

December 28. D. H. B. and George W. Hale, astronomer, took taxi and went to Notre Dame, to the French Institute, to St. Sulpice, to Ste. Chapelle; also called on Ambassador Robert Bacon.

December 31. D. H. B. and George W. Hale went to the Palace Royal, Pantheon, old D'Artagnan Court, a California girl's studio, the Luxembourg Gardens; we lunched at good old Foyot's on the Senators' side towards the Rue Tournon; then back to hotel. Hubert came in with his station project.

1911, *January* 1. Hubert came and he and D. H. B. took a cab and called on Hubert's patron, Deglane, Charles J. Barnes, Augustus N. Eddy, Philip Bunau-Varilla, and then visited the Russian church. Lunched in our room with Hubert and Vivian and went to the Lamoureux Concert. Then to dine with Hubert and Vivian at their apartment.

January 2. Foot doctor came and found an abscess on my old little toe on right side, and I stayed in my room all day. Gus Eddy and Charles J. Barnes called. Mrs. Field asked us to her tea, but could n't go.

January 5. Hubert came in at 10 P.M. from a day's plan problem in the École des Beaux Arts. Sent baggage to steamer.

CHAPTER XXV

CLOSING IN

1911–1912

THE Chicago Plan was the last creative public work undertaken by Mr. Burnham. He himself regarded it as the supreme effort of his life. Its comprehensiveness, its physical and spiritual content, the unlimited and enduring qualities which project it into an indefinite future — all these elements satisfied him. Its very imperfections, many of which he saw clearly, seemed to call his successors to take up and perfect the work, as they would be able to do by reason of the larger knowledge and wider vision certain to come with the process of the suns. He was confident that the Plan fulfilled his own oft-repeated injunction, formulated in 1907, which has become the motto of city-planners since that day:

Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty.

While, as he phrased it, he had withdrawn from the arena, leaving the striving to younger men, there was still the training of the past. There were pleasures and sorrows made keener, perhaps, by reason of the fact that the joy of strife was no longer his. One of these sorrows came from the fact that he felt it incumbent on him to withdraw from the American Institute of

Architects because of certain complications arising out of the commission to design the Continental and Commercial National Bank, of which institution he was a director. In vain his friends among the architects urged him to recall his resignation, insisting that his action in the matter had been the correct one, according to the ethics of the profession. To him a point of honor seemed to be involved; and he was sensitive in extreme. Confident in the correctness of his attitude, but conscious that he was being maneuvered into a position whereby he was compelled to violate the letter of the code by making sketches without compensation, he preferred to sever his connection with the Institute rather than break faith with his friends and associates in the bank. This he did, but not without grief and chagrin.

On Saturday, December 30, 1911, the new house of business of John Wanamaker in Philadelphia was opened with great ceremony. On the previous day a special train on the Pennsylvania Railroad left Chicago with a party of men whom Mr. Burnham had invited to be his guests for the occasion. The company included Albert Sprague, A. C. Bartlett, Edward B. Butler, F. A. Hardy, Ralph Van Vechten, William L. Brown, Joy Morton, T. J. McNulty, H. B. Hackett, Martin A. Ryerson, Fred W. Upham, Edward E. Ayer, Charles P. Wheeler, Clyde M. Carr, Charles L. Hutchinson, E. J. Buffington, Chauncey Keep, J. Joass, of London; Lorado Taft, the sculptor; John T. McCutcheon, the caricaturist; Mr. Burnham's partner, Ernest R. Graham; his sons John and Daniel H. Burnham, Jr.; and his son-in-law, George T. Kelley. Charles H. Wacker, of Chicago; J. G. Schmidlapp, of Cincinnati; and Hugh McGee, of Toronto, joined the party at Philadelphia. On Saturday

morning many of the party visited the art gallery of John G. Johnson, while Mr. Burnham was conferring with a committee on the improvement of Brooklyn, who had come over to meet him.[1] At noon Mr. Wanamaker gave a luncheon in the new building to Mr. Burnham's party and the city officials.

The occasion marked Mr. Wanamaker's fiftieth business anniversary and in his honor President Taft came over from Washington. There were odes, written by John Luther Long and James Bayard Woodford and set to music composed by Horatio Parker and J. Lewis Brown; addresses by the President of the United States, Mr. Wanamaker, and Mr. Burnham. The latter handed to his client a gold key bearing the inscription:

Presented to Hon. John Wanamaker at the Dedication of the John Wanamaker Store, Philadelphia, December 30, 1911, by the Architects, D. H. Burnham & Company, and the Builders.

The exercises being ended, the Chicago party motored through the parks to the home of P. A. B. Widener to see his art collections; and then took their train for the return, finishing the day with a dinner and cards.

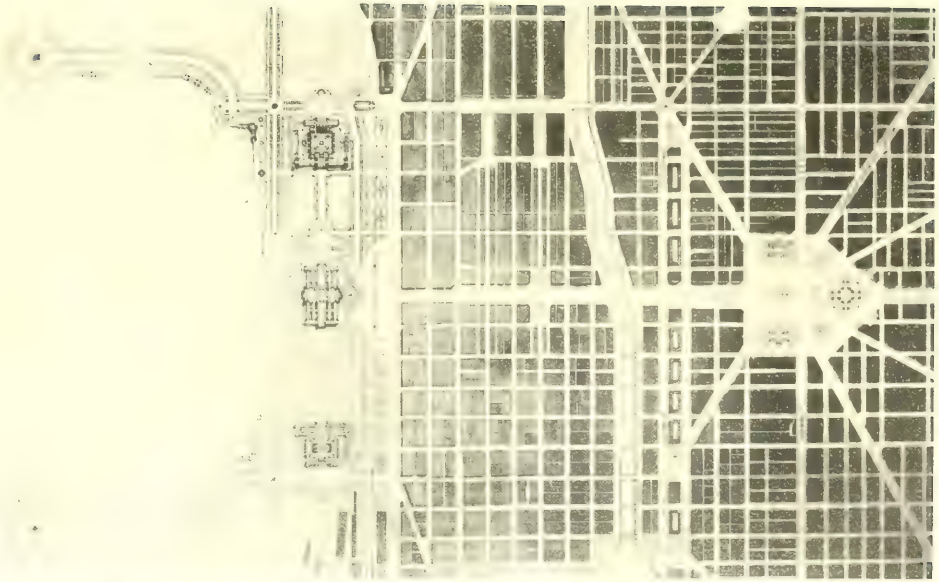
The building so auspiciously opened rises to the height of 247 feet above the sidewalk and has a floor area of nearly forty-five acres; it is built of Maine granite in Roman-Doric style, and, with its companion building in New York, well represents those ideas of adaptability, convenience, permanence, dignity, and simplicity characteristic of Mr. Burnham's best creations.

The last meeting at which all of the original members of the Commission of Fine Arts were present occurred on January

[1] The new plan for Brooklyn, New York, was made later by Edward H. Bennett, in consultation with Mr. Burnham.

26, 1912. Shortly thereafter Mr. Millet departed for Rome to straighten out the affairs of the American Academy, which were in a sadly complicated condition owing to the death of Mr. McKim, the necessity for selecting a new director, and the ambitious building plans of J. Pierpont Morgan. William R. Mead had taken his partner's place as president and was piloting the academic ship from the New York office; but a man of tact and judgment was needed on the ground, and reluctantly Mr. Millet undertook the task. He persuaded President Taft to allow his military aide, Major Archibald W. Butt, to make a vacation trip to Rome, jocularly promising the President to return Major Butt in good order in April. The two men had been living together in Washington, where Mr. Millet had a studio in which he was painting a history of mail transportation for the Federal building in Cleveland.

Mr. and Mrs. Burnham bade farewell to their Evanston home on April 9, 1912, leaving his sister, Miss Ellen Burnham, in the companionship of Miss Helen Fowler. Their daughter, Mrs. Kelley, drove into the city with them; Mr. Burnham had a last talk with Ernest Graham, just returned from New York. Their son, John Burnham and their nephew, John B. Sherman, were at the station to see them off for Washington. The recurring trouble with his foot kept Mr. Burnham in his stateroom on the train, and made it necessary for him to use a wheeled-chair when they landed at the new Union Station the next morning. There they were met by Daniel H. Burnham, Jr., who had been superintending the erection of the Columbus fountain in the station plaza; by Colonel Spencer Cosby, the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds; Lorado



THE PLAN OF CHICAGO: THE BUSINESS CENTRE: THE EAST AND WEST AXIS FROM GRANT PARK TO THE CIVIC CENTRE ON HALSTED STREET

From a rendering by F. Janin

Taft, the sculptor. After satisfying himself as to the work on the fountain, Mr. Burnham called on Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury, to discuss matters relating to the new Post-Office Building, which was being constructed by the firm to form a constituent portion of the Pennsylvania Station group in Chicago.

In the afternoon Mr. Burnham went to the White House to attend a meeting of the Lincoln Memorial Commission. President Taft took the chair, and Senators Cullom, Wetmore, and Money, Speaker Champ Clark, Representatives Cannon and McCall, and Colonel Cosby, were present. What took place at the meeting is related in a letter written in New York two days later, and left with Henry Bacon to be delivered to Frank Millet on his return:

April 12, 1912

DEAR FRANK: My wife and I sail to-morrow on the Olympic crossing you at sea.

I am writing this to be handed you on landing.

A meeting of the Lincoln Commission was held at the White House on the tenth. I was present by order of the President. At the end of the council a vote for designer was about to be taken, but the President deferred it until some time next week. I am writing to the President now asking that it be when you can be present, for I feel that the decision is going to be a vital one, settling for a long time the status of the fine arts in this country.

The argument I made before the Lincoln Commission was that the whole world is looking on and confidently expecting us to do something merely striking and picturesque and not nobly ideal; and that we must disappoint them and rise above their expectations as we did in Chicago; and that to do this we must not and cannot accept such a thing as the round, Doric design submitted, which as a piece of real fine art is not possible.

I have asked a friend to make a diagram of the above plan for me and this I am sending to you. By means of it you can see and show others that a flat, classic portico cannot be projected in front of a curved peristyle. . . .

I told the Commission that if a round colonnade were to be done, it would be much better without any portico at all; but that a great, round, open colonnade had never been used by any great designer, because he must have recognized as we do that the columns would jumble — that when a great designer did use a continuous order on a round plan he placed the columns (one deep only) around the circular cell of masonry, like the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum, or the Hercules Temple of Tivoli, or the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. And I told them that the Greek Doric order could not have its proper effect until backed by a strong masonry cell. . . . Our whole standing in architecture and our influence on the taste and architectural judgment of the community are at stake in this matter.

Senator Wetmore asked how high a statue in a cella should be. I answered, "What cella and what statue?" and continued, "a statue should be the size giving just the proportion demanded by the architecture." He then read from Herodotus, who states that (he quoting from Strabo) "Phidias's Zeus at Olympus was thirty-six feet high." I doubt this fact and all the more because Herodotus (Strabo) says, "The walls of Babylon were five hundred feet high," whereas they were fifty feet high.

I told them that Harry Bacon had never asked any one for a job, and that he never will do so; that he has the modesty and reserve found only in the greatest architects, like Atwood, who had to be given opportunity; but who, when the chance came, proved that we could entrust all that was most dear to our professional honor to his hands. That we picked out in '93 no lover of the merely picturesque, that we attempted no stunts of mere bigness, but tried for the ideal — and won.

Dear Frank, please read our report[1] on the designers which

[1] Report of the National Commission of Fine Arts, 1912; 62d Congress, 3d Session; Document 960, p. 16.

went to the Lincoln Commission three weeks ago. The paragraph on the sort of man to be chosen was written by Tom Hastings and very convincingly written. Read that again to the Lincoln Commission, and make them see that there is only one man in sight who can fill that bill. This is not a question of how big or how striking, but of how ideally perfect as a piece of classic art.

One member said, "If I had my way I would build just a statue, and it should be bigger than the Colossus of Rhodes." I did n't even say a word to this, and I hope the pity in my mind did not appear in my face. When a man says, "I don't claim to know much about architecture, but I do know what I like and I don't need any one to tell me," he is hopeless, and trying to tell him anything would be much like trying to show a blind man pictures.

Some one at the Capitol end is putting arguments against Bacon's thing into the mouths of two or three of the Lincoln Commissioners. I have done my best for the time being. Had a vote been taken last Wednesday, Bacon would have had four votes outside that of the President, and possibly five. Colonel Cosby said to me after the meeting, "Your address was very strong and produced a profound impression — much greater than you think." But I know, and you know, dear Frank, that men don't "stay put," and that the rats swarm back and begin to gnaw at the same old spot the moment the dog's back is turned. At the next meeting the Lincoln Commission will vote. Be there sure and reiterate the real argument, which is that they should select a man in whom we have confidence.

I leave the thing confidently in your hands.

Yours as ever

D. H. BURNHAM

P.S. Ely has just come in and says you might want to show this to the President. You can judge better than I. Do as you think best. D. H. B.

April 12. Breakfast in room. Took an automobile and went to Brooklyn to call on Aunt Emma, and saw Anne Molineaux

also. Thence to Holland House, where D. H. B. lunched with Harry Bacon and Jules Guérin. Angelo del Nero called. Mrs. Ernest Graham and Mrs. Burnham spent the afternoon together.

April 13. Theodore N. Ely called; also Henry Bacon. Went to steamship Olympic in Charlotte Graham's auto. Bacon and wife there. Dined in the public dining-room. Hon. Charles Bryan on board.

Frank Millet was sailing on the Titanic with Colonel Archibald Butt, on their return from Rome. That steamship and the Olympic were to pass one another at sea. On the evening of the 14th, Mr. Burnham wrote a message of greeting to Millet and Butt and gave it to his steward to take to the wireless operator. The steward returned to say that the operator declined to receive it, but would make no explanation. Puzzled and worried, Mr. Burnham sent the man back to insist on an explanation. He again returned to say that an accident had happened to the Titanic, that the Olympic had been summoned, and had been ordered to prepare hospital facilities. Thereupon Mr. and Mrs. Burnham arranged to give up their suite of rooms to Millet and Butt. Later, however, they learned that other succor had gone to the Titanic and that the Olympic had been ordered to resume her course.

April 15. This morning, the steward told us that an accident had occurred on the Titanic, sister ship to the one we are on. She sailed from Cherbourg on the 10th. Later in the day we learned *via* Marconi, that she had struck an iceberg and had gone down; later yet came a list of survivors (675), mostly women and children. My Chief of Decoration of the Fair of 1893 and Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, Frank D. Millet, whom I loved, was aboard of her, and with him was Major Archibald Butt, President Taft's military secretary. Their

MR. BURNHAM AT PRESTON, ENGLAND, 1907

MR. BURNHAM ON HIS LAST MOTOR TRIP IN EUROPE IN 1912, WITH MRS. BURNHAM AND MR. AND MRS. A. B. WELLS

names are not on the list of survivors and probably they have gone down, thus cutting off my connection with one of the best fellows of the Fair.

April 16. Breakfasted in our rooms. Went out and read list of Titanic survivors telegraphed from the Carpathia, which is carrying them to New York. Frank's name is not among them, nor is Archie Butt's. My steward is in grief; his son was a steward on the Titanic and has gone down. This ship is in gloom; everybody has lost friends, and some of them near relations. I find Kirsten, partner of our Boston client Filene, is aboard.

April 18. Breakfasted alone in the main dining-room. Found a list of subscribers to Titanic Relief Fund amounting to £770 or $3850, headed by Lord Ashburton. Subscribed $100.

April 19. After dinner Charles H. Thorne — my Charles — appeared. I feel cheated. He has been aboard all the time and I did not know it. This comes from my sore foot and keeping in our staterooms. A pleasant evening with Mr. and Mrs. Thorne.

April 20. Up at five, getting ready for shore. No further news of the Titanic. I still do not know whether our dear Frank Millet came through or is lost. Landed at Cherbourg at 1.30 P.M., after stopping at Plymouth. Albert and Ethel Wells on the pier. Said good-bye to Charles Thorne and went to the beautiful Casino Hotel on the beach, where we lunched, dined, and put up for the night.

April 22. Started south in the Renault, Walter at the wheel. Ran through Valonges, Lessey, Coutances, to Granville, where we lunched; then ran around to Mont St. Michel, and south to Rennes for the night.

By April 27 the party had reached Biarritz, where they settled at the Grand Hotel in the same rooms they had occupied in December, 1910. There they stayed until the 4th of May. The next day they made Toulouse, having all day long the view of the snow-covered Spanish Pyrenees skirting well-cultivated fields. On the 7th they paused at Nimes and Arles on the

way to Marseilles; then came Nice and San Remo, where they found Hubert Burnham on the steps of Hotel Bellevue, waiting for them.

May 13. Started at 7.45 for Florence; lunched at Spezzia and stopped at Pisa to see the cathedral, the Leaning Tower, and Baptistery, and arrived at Hotel Excelsior on the Lung Arno at 8 P.M., after a run of 150 miles since breakfast. Found Vivian and the baby. Dined in our own rooms.

May 14. Breakfasted in our own rooms facing the Arno; spent the morning at the Pitti Palace; in the afternoon Harriet (Seymour) Carscallen called and spent the evening.

May 15. D. H. B. and wife, the Wellses, the Hubert Burnhams, with nurse and baby, went up to the superb Villa Palmieri, now owned by our old friend, James Ellsworth. Spent the forenoon with him in his remarkable house and grounds. Mrs. Carscallen and her friend, Mrs. Erskine, dined with us.[1]

May 16. In the afternoon ran to Bologna.

May 17. Milan. Saw the cathedral church of San Ambrogio, where the first vaulting members run to the pavement and where are most beautiful old mosaics. Then ran on to Lisa on Lake Maggiore, where we put up at a quaint little hotel facing the water. Went rowing on the lake.

May 18. The Burnhams and Wellses went over the Simplon Pass, going through many little towns, lunching at Simplon in a very neat inn, served by women. Thence through Briga, which town reminded me of Arnold Brunner, to whom I am writing to-day. Arrived at Martigni at 6.30 P.M.

Mr. Burnham wrote:

Martigni, May 20

MY DEAR ARNOLD: I came down over the Simplon yesterday; passing through Sion I saw your name over a door — A. Brun-

[1] Mr. Burnham invited his guests to go with him the next morning to the Pitti Gallery to meet a very beautiful lady. They accepted eagerly and at the appointed time were introduced to Raphael's Madonna del Granduca. He sat before it a long time and as he arose to depart, said: "I am bidding her farewell."

ner. The place was *en fête;* a great number of musical societies attending the annual event, and so with the music and a name I am fond of, I just thought I would send you a line to say on paper, as I am sure you have long ago guessed, that I do think a great deal of you.

Yours ever

D. H. BURNHAM

May 20. Ran from Martigni over the Rhone Valley road to Lake Geneva, Montreux, and Vevey to Lausanne; lunched at Ouchy, below Lausanne on the banks of the lake, and stayed overnight. Very beautiful terrace and garden; gigantic cypress trees.

May 21. Ouchy on Lake Geneva, Beau Rivage Hotel; terraced down to the water's edge. We left after luncheon and ran to Biel and thence up the mountain to Evilard.

May 22. The Burnhams and Wellses started from Evilard over Biel; stopped at Basle for lunch, and ran to Strassburg and put up at the Grand Hôtel de Paris. The view from the ridge above Biel is the finest in Europe; from this spot, 6300 feet above the sea, every Swiss mountain can be seen.

May 23. Party breakfasted in room of Mrs. B. in the Hôtel Ville de Paris, Strassburg.

Here the Diaries end.

The party arrived at Heidelberg on the 25th and went to Hotel Bellevue. Mr. Burnham passed a poor night, but was so much better in the morning that Mrs. Burnham and Mrs. Wells went to a concert in the park. On their return to the hotel they found Mr. Burnham in bed. Dr. Schoenborn gave a favorable opinion, but insisted that the trip to Jena be given up; and Mr. Wells went on alone. A change for the worse having come in the afternoon, the physician advised that his

patient go to the hospital. On the way Mr. Burnham told the doctor about his case and added that if the worst should result he desired cremation. This he did to comply with the provisions of the German law, which provides that cremation may be used only in case the person had so expressed his desire prior to death.

The doctors were by no means discouraged. Mr. Wells, on being summoned, made the return run in one day. During the night a wire from Florence told of Hubert's sudden illness from ptomaine poisoning, a fact which was kept from his father. Later a reassuring telegram from Mrs. Hubert Burnham relieved the anxiety of the family. Both doctors and patient now undertook an unequal fight. On the 29th a state of coma began, and lasted for three days and nights.

The first morning of June came to the anxious watchers with a burst of sunshine and the singing of birds; and in the glory of the dawn his spirit left them. Two days later, in the beautiful, quiet cemetery, in a little open temple on the hill, the cremation took place.

The Queen Mother of Sweden, who was staying at Hotel Bellevue, sent flowers with a note of sympathy; and no kindly attentions were spared by physicians or attendants. At Paris, Hubert, convalescing, joined the family; and later in the month all sailed for America. The ashes were placed beneath a boulder marked with a small tablet, under the trees of a wooded island in Graceland Cemetery, which is located on the way between Chicago and Evanston.

The design by Mr. Bacon was adopted by the Lincoln Memorial Commission; it has been carried out in the most thorough manner and the completed structure will be dedicated

BURNHAM ISLAND IN GRACELAND CEMETERY, CHICAGO

in 1921. The landscape features as planned by the Senate Park Commission in 1901 are being carried out in detail. The only disturbance to the plan has been caused by erecting within the area devoted to the memorial a series of factory-like buildings for war uses — buildings which must be removed before the Lincoln Memorial can take its rightful place among the monumental structures of all time.

The statue of Abraham Lincoln, nineteen feet in height, has been designed by Daniel Chester French; and the mural decorations are by Jules Guérin. Architect, sculptor, and painter have worked together to produce a unified result that fulfills Mr. Burnham's fondest anticipations, justifies his struggles, and realizes his visions. To Burnham, McKim, Saint-Gaudens and Olmsted, as well as to Bacon and French and Guérin, belongs the credit of this achievement of American art. And, to go back to the beginnings, to L'Enfant's great plan, is due the opportunity to realize a result greater than even he foresaw — a completed composition that would have satisfied George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Frank Millet died as he had lived, working for others. The last report of him told of his quietly busy, efficient aid in getting women and children into the boats, of his words of encouragement and cheer. With him perished his companion, Major Butt. All who knew them were confident that they would not leave the ship so long as there were lives of others to be saved.

On May 10 the Commission of Fine Arts placed on their records a minute reciting "their sense of the irreparable loss sustained by reason of the death of Francis Davis Millet, who perished in the Titanic disaster":

On the organization of this Commission [the minute continues] Mr. Millet was elected vice-chairman, and the exacting work which fell to him in that position was done by him cheerfully, faithfully, intelligently, and tactfully. Training in the various branches of art, wide knowledge, cultivated taste, and the power of expressing ideas clearly and forcibly gave the highest value to his service on the Commission. At the same time his sympathy and kindly nature, his quickness to grasp, and his readiness to consider, points of view other than his own, made companionship with him a rare pleasure. While we deplore his loss as a fellow-worker in a cause so deeply at heart, we are grateful that we have been permitted to enjoy his comradeship and to profit by his knowledge and experience. To his family we who have known him long and well express our sincere sympathy in their sorrow. His distinguished and varied achievements, his courage maintained throughout a life passed largely among perils, his reputation, and his broad human sympathies are a heritage beyond estimation.

Mr. Burnham's name heads the signatures to this minute, placed there by his authority. He himself had attended his last meeting of the Commission.

At the memorial meeting held for Frank Millet under the auspices of the American Federation of Arts, at the National Museum in Washington, on May 10, Senator Elihu Root, speaking nineteen years after the Chicago Fair, holds it high praise of Millet that

he was one of a little group of American artists whose coöperation in the noblest spirit of unselfish love for art produced the Court of Honor and the White City on the shore of Lake Michigan in the Exposition of 1893. The great educational effect of that wonderful creation upon the millions of Americans who visited the exposition began a new era in the attitude of the American people toward art. It also produced a new spirit in its creators. The men who accomplished that work never can-

celled their enlistment in the public service. They never severed the bonds that held them together in the desire that their countrymen might acquire the increased capacity for happiness which comes from the cultivation of taste. They were inspired by a conception of their country adorned and dignified by noble and stately buildings and beautiful parks and exquisite works of design, by painting and by sculpture. They have labored incessantly for the accomplishment of their ideas. The influence of their spirit has wrought powerfully among all their brethren in the arts. It has affected the public mind, and from the Court of Honor and the spirit of the men who made it, came the chief impetus which produced the unprecedented growth of our art museums and art societies — the Washington Park Commission, the National Art Commission, the municipal art commissions in all our cities, the American Academy in Rome, and this Fine Arts Federation.[1]

The National Commission of Fine Arts, at its meeting on June 21, placed on its records this estimate[2] of Mr. Burnham's public work.

Daniel Hudson Burnham, appointed by President Taft the chairman of this Commission on its organization in May, 1910, died suddenly in Heidelberg, Germany, June 1, 1912. His death was hastened by over-exertion at the time of the last meeting of the Commission in which he took part.

As Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Mr. Burnham achieved a signal success, first, in conceiving that exhibition on a large and magnificent scale; and, secondly, in bringing about a spirit of coöperation among the

[1] Mr. Millet was the organizer and the secretary of the American Federation of Arts. A memorial to him and Major Butt has been erected in the grounds south of the White House — the gift of their friends. Daniel C. French, sculptor, and Thomas Hastings, architect, furnished the design.

[2] The minutes in respect of both Mr. Burnham and Mr. Millet were prepared by Charles Moore. President Taft appointed Peirce Anderson to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Burnham's death, and also appointed Daniel Chester French, chairman.

artists, which produced a result never surpassed in a work of that kind.

This success led directly to the selection of Mr. Burnham as one of the two original members of the Commission on the improvement of the District of Columbia, appointed in 1901 under authority of the United States Senate. In this position he again gave evidence of breadth of view and ability to accomplish results.

While he guided the entire work of the Park Commission, he personally secured the coöperation of President Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, whom he induced to give up the right to use public grounds, and to withdraw the railroad terminals to privately acquired property in a different section of Washington.

The solution of this problem was essential to any adequate scheme for the development of the National Capital; and Congress promptly adopted the proposition outlined by the Park Commission.

The Union Station, setting, as it did, a new standard in civic architecture, stands as the embodiment in part of Mr. Burnham's dream of a new Washington, unsurpassed among the capitals of the nations.

The fact, demonstrated by the Park Commission, that the city of Washington began with a superb plan which needed but enlargement and extension to adapt it to modern needs, gave the impetus to city planning throughout the country. Mr. Burnham's services were sought by Cleveland and San Francisco, and this Government asked and obtained his further aid in the preparation of a plan for the transformation of Manila, so as to adapt that ancient city to changed times and modern needs. Also he made the plan for the summer capital of the Philippines on the hills of Baguio.

Then at the call of his home town, he gave four of the best years of his life and the results of his ripe experience to an exhaustive study of the means and methods whereby the great commercial city of Chicago may develop into a place where all its citizens shall be able to work under the most advantageous

[*Facsimile*]

200 W BT 166 Gvt

The White house Washington DC June 1 12

E R Graham
Chicago Ills

The News of Mr Burnham s death greatly shocks me. Mr Burnham was one of the foremost architects of the world,but he had more than mere professional skill.He had breadth of view as to artis-tic subject that permitted him to lead in every movement for the education of the public in art of the development of art in every branch of our busy life. Without pay,at my instance he visited the philippine islands in order to make plans for the beautification of manila and for the laying out of a capital in the mountains in the fine climate of Baguio. He was at the head of the fine arts commission .and I venture to say that there was no man in the professional life of the United States who has given more of his life to the public.without having filled public office,than Daniel Burnham.His death is a real loss to the whole community.

William H Taft.

422pm

President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S TELEGRAM ON THE DEATH OF MR. BURNHAM

conditions, and to live among surroundings conducive to health and happiness.

No prophet of old ever beheld a more glorious vision, or labored more persuasively and confidently for its realization.

All of these public services were rendered without compensation, and at the sacrifice not alone of business opportunities, but also of those domestic hours which were the greatest joys of his life. He firmly believed that duty to his country demanded that he serve her unreservedly in the ways that were open to him, no matter at what expense of personal ease. Days and nights of irksome travel, incessant attendance at committee meetings, the expenditure of vital force to arouse the lethargic or to convince the reluctant and obstinate — all were involved in the price he paid; and his reward was in the sense of duty done; and also in the joy of accomplishment.

In all his work he disclaimed rather than sought personal credit. He talked rarely of things done; for he lived in the future, where there was so much to do. He was eager to accord the fullest recognition to those associated with him; and he drew them to him by his open-mindedness and his readiness to take suggestions. He had no pride of opinion, but rather a sweet reasonableness that was a part of his very nature. And yet there were those who thought him masterful, and who saw only his persistence and unswerving progress to the goal.

When this Commission was created by Congress, the selection of Mr. Burnham as its chairman was the natural choice. The President had consulted him from time to time on matters such as were to come before the Commission. All of its members knew him; most of us had worked with him. Quickly, therefore, the organization was set in operation. Now that he has gone from us, we realize what his personality has meant; how judicious his counsels have been; and how many pitfalls his wisdom has helped to avoid. As long as any of the original members of the Commission remain in its service, so long will his presence be felt at these meetings; and when others take our places, his influence and his example must continue to be a guide and an inspiration.

CHAPTER XXVI

METHODS OF THOUGHT AND WORK

IN all his work, Mr. Burnham sought first to find the irreducible minimum. He reasoned from the general to the particular. He began the Washington work with long drives over the Anacostia hills and the heights of Arlington; he explored the entire country about the city to study the domination of the Capitol dome and the Washington Monument. At West Point he climbed the hills until he struck an axis on which to build. At San Francisco he had a shack built on Twin Peaks, where he could overlook city and harbor. In Chicago he made work-rooms on the top of the Railway Exchange, where the entire panorama of city and parks and lake, each with its individual life, was spread before him. He seemed to require boundless horizons; instinctively he realized that he was working for an indefinite future, and that the major part of his plans could be realized only long after he had passed away.

Like his ancestor, John Burnham, of Vermont, he was not what is known as a religious man; but his early Swedenborgian training went with him through life, coloring thought and visions. His own philosophy of life was simple and direct. He revered the Creator of the universe and gave willing submission to His laws. He believed that religious differences among men were the result of misunderstandings, and that if men of different creeds could be gathered in the same room, face to face on a friendly basis, they would compose their differences. The Parliament of Religions at the Chicago Fair was made possible by his own gift and the subscriptions that

THE BURNHAM COAT-OF-ARMS
The motto supplied by Mr. Burnham

he raised at the instance of the Reverend John Henry Barrows, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago. He looked to the religious congress "to bring about, if not a universal creed, certainly a universal code of morals, to be used as a standard by lawmakers, emperors, merchant-princes, clergymen, and laymen; and to be as fixed as the sun in the centre of our universe." [1] He had an abiding faith in sunlight and the regenerative powers of nature. He forbade his boys to build caves, lest darkness should bring contamination. He urged the recovery of the Lake Front in Chicago, claiming that it belonged of right to all the people. In his mind parks existed for the recreation of the people and their spiritual, moral, and physical well-being; and not for their own intrinsic beauty. He even thought, or said he did, that life beyond the grave could be proved by the necessity of belief in an absolute and universal power. He never lost touch with the great realities of life as manifested in the family. His home was always the dearest place on earth, and his wife and children and relatives were his first concern. When he took friends into his home he was paying them the highest of compliments; and he was never more in his element than during the Sunday afternoons in summer when family and friends gathered, often two score in number, on the broad terrace overlooking Lake Michigan, at Evanston; or, in winter, sat in smaller numbers in a half-circle around the blazing fire in his spacious library.

In the office, he won the affection as well as commanded the respect of his force. He told the goal he desired to reach and trusted them to get there. His aphorisms, cherished and repeated, were guiding forces among his men. In this way he

[1] D. H. B. to Eugene S. Pike, February 25, 1893.

created disciples and so spread his gospel of sincerity and good cheer. A number of his sayings, illustrative of the way in which his mind worked, have been gathered by Willis Polk:

"What are we talking about?" asked Mr. Burnham one day in conference with his staff of designers and engineers. Then followed a long discussion during which a minute analysis of every phase of the problem of the moment was brought forward, dissected, classified, and recorded in chronological sequence, so that a programme of orderly procedure covering the task in question was developed and adopted. Thereupon Mr. Burnham said, "Now, boys, go to it! Don't quit until you EXHAUST the subject!"

The effect was electrical, all became busy as bees and remained so until another conference imposed new and greater duties. Every fit man, every eager man, and every man willing to accept inspiration was recognized. Some rose, some fell, but Mr. Burnham, always imperturbable, never expressed dissatisfaction if any one failed. He seemed to be blind to our failures. He compelled us to love him. He got service because he gave inspiration. That was Burnham.

One day, after studying a design submitted for his approval, Mr. Burnham suddenly pointed to a particular feature in the composition and inquired of his anxious apprentice:

"What is your authority for that?"

"I am," answered the egotistical youth. "It is original."

"Oh!" said Mr. Burnham. "Get a good authority."

The library yielded up about fifty similar examples scattered all the way from antiquity to Fifth Avenue, every one of them better than the creation under consideration.

"Now, can't you see," he said, after reviewing the hitherto accepted authorities, "that it is better always to try to find out what the other fellow did before you try to improve on him?"

"Improve on him if you can," he concluded.

"Define the art of architecture," suddenly demanded Mr. Burnham one day, without relevance to anything in particular. We got out Fergusson, Sturgis, Gwilt, Planat, Gaudet, Sir William Chambers, Webster's, the Century and all the encyclopædias, transcribed their various definitions, and laid them before him. He read them in silence; then, after reflection, but without directing his observations to any one, said: "It is, after all, the art of creating an agreeable form."

"Vignola is not infallible," he added.

The young apprentice, after presenting to Mr. Burnham a scheme, brought forward in detail, received this comment: "Please take that back and bring me a tracing with all decorative ornament omitted."

Upon complying with this request the young apprentice discovered that his design, shorn of its ornament, was no design at all. "There," said Mr. Burnham, "compose your skeleton first, ornament afterward if necessary!"

Mr. Burnham used quizzically to relate that H. H. Richardson held that an architect's first duty was to get a job. Then he would solemnly observe: "But Henry was wrong! An architect's first duty is to DO the job."

"But do it well," he would always add.

In 1901 sitting on the observation platform of the Twentieth Century Limited, or whatever was the train *de luxe* of that period, Mr. Burnham, apropos of nothing at all, said: "Some day we will lay our own tracks and go where we please."

That was his vision of the tractor, the caterpillar, and the track-laying tanks as useful at this time in agriculture as they have been in war.

John La Farge, Charles McKim, and Mr. Burnham were discussing outward and visible evidences by which aptitude and qualifications of students reveal themselves. McKim held that the boy that could draw a baluster was the boy that would become an architect. La Farge thought that the boy that would work was the boy that would win. Burnham said, "Let me look him straight in the eye, and don't let him quiver."

"A vacillating compass on an uncharted sea is about as safe a guide as that of making a memorandum book out of brain!" said Mr. Burnham.

"Make all things a matter of record. Make your entries daily. Never trust to memory!"

Then he chuckled and looked wise like an owl.

"Where are your other studies?" queried Mr. Burnham, when his assistant submitted a final design for consideration.

"They are all bad," was the reply.

"Well," he said, "show me the bad plans; they are the ones that do the talking, they are the ones that reveal the good one."

"In the great game," said Mr. Burnham, "the wisest and most courageous man wins. The trouble is that the most able men are timid. The impetuous fool always loses, while the partially wise man, while never pleased, is contented if pointed to as an example of Safety First."

"It can't be done," said the able young assistant.

"You mean, you can't do it," said Mr. Burnham.

"If anybody can, I can," replied the A.Y.A.

"Then go and do it. Anybody can do an easy job, but it takes a good man to do a hard one."

Mr. Burnham then turned to the next matter requiring his attention.

It is better, Mr. Burnham pointed out, to let the other fellow move first, like the Indian and the deer. "The deer," said the Indian, "come by and by down to the lick, you no move you get um deer, you move you no get um deer." Never be too proud to take counsel. Listen patiently but in the end exercise your judgment boldly and fearlessly. A mistake is not a disgrace, but lack of action when action is required is inexcusable, he concluded.

"Scale," said Mr. Burnham, "is the all-important element in the art of creating an agreeable-looking form. Never mind detail," he continued; "never mind decoration. Look for scale. Establish it, get it right, then you can safely leave ornamental

THE PLAN OF CHICAGO, SHOWING THE PA
From a painti

P SED TREATMENT OF THE LAKE FRONT
b Jules Guérin

and decorative detail to the allied artist. Some architects fail to recognize this great truth. They try to do it all themselves, and in their zeal their detail is ofttimes not as good as might be if same were left to a sympathetic collaborator with sculptural or color training, while their scale receives but scant attention.

"Scale is the finding of relationship between a composition and its surroundings. Whether it be a monumental building or a country bungalow, the problem is the same. All things that come into juxtaposition with a project have a bearing upon its scale! Take a giant; a giant is abnormal; or a midget — a midget is miniature; both are freaks. But take a perfectly formed human being, such as either you or I — we are in scale, are n't we? Scale after all is the one important element."

On the fly-leaf of a scrapbook Mr. Burnham wrote:

Never in any country was there such extensive public expenditure of money and never was public expenditure carried on with so little regard for harmonious general results. We had education, perhaps, in a higher degree than elsewhere and the consequent yearning for better things that always comes with it. Throughout the country a vague discontent prevailed with public work; the sort of discontent which always with our people precedes improvement. Then came the Fair of '93 and the millions who saw it understood at once what was needed to effect a change from the old unsatisfactory way of doing things. They saw that though a pool, a grassy bank, a building may be individually beautiful, each of them may appear ugly in the midst of inharmonious surroundings, and moreover no one of them by itself is so beautiful as a union of them all in a good design. The people at large discovered the art of Landscape Architecture and were delighted.

1901 D. H. B.

Edward H. Bennett, who worked with Mr. Burnham constantly for the last eight years of the latter's life, relates these characteristic illustrations of his methods:

The year following the West Point work, 1904, a call came from Mr. Burnham to come to Chicago to design the buildings for the playground parks and later to go with him to San Francisco to lay out a plan for that city. Mr. Burnham and I travelled together and were met in Oakland by Willis Polk, who saw me first and cried with eagerness, "Where is *he?*" Willis Polk was putting up a shack at Mr. Burnham's request high up on Twin Peaks, where it commanded a view of the entire city; there we lived.

To me the problem loomed vast; at the start, it was difficult to detach myself from broad generalities. Mr. Burnham, realizing the possibilities of the plan, saw also the necessity of getting a grip on something tangible. He began by taking up the Panhandle boulevard project; this gave reality to the work and was a dominant factor in the comprehensive street plan which later was evolved. James D. Phelan was interested in the plan work, but during Mr. Burnham's absence in Manila became doubtful of the practicability of the broad plan which was being designed. It is characteristic of Mr. Burnham's power that he was able on his return to San Francisco to enlist Mr. Phelan's sympathy in his vision of the City Plan. "You would not have called me in had it been to plan for the small expenditure of the present," he said. "The plan for your city must be framed in accord with your needs in the distant future — for all time."

We went to see Dr. Worcester, Swedenborgian minister of San Francisco, a lifelong friend. Mr. Burnham always acknowledged his influence. "He has always kept a hand on my shoulder" was the way he put it. The laws of spiritual correspondence were often in his mind and one evening at the bungalow on Twin Peaks he interested himself in tracing the correspondence of spiritual powers and the municipal powers as indicated in the physical lay-out of the centre of the city. I had proposed a system of concentric rings or circuits surrounding the ideal Centre of Government.

It was during this trip that he said, "If I were able to take

the time, I believe that I could prove the continuation of life beyond the grave, reasoning from the necessity, philosophically speaking, of the belief in an absolute and universal power."

Late in 1906 Mr. Burnham took up actual work on the Chicago Plan. He appointed me to assist him and it was during this work that I came to realize his great appreciation of men. The qualities of the fine group of Commercial Club and Merchants' Club men on the Plan Committee he referred to often. He keenly appreciated having Clyde M. Carr on the Committee; he felt that it was a splendid thing for the city that a man of Mr. Carr's ability and responsibility in business should take up active city work. Charles D. Norton, chairman of the Committee, he spoke of as a man of fine ideals; ranging the horizon for a chance to do a public service. The force of Jay Morton, he said, was felt as soon as he entered the room. Charles H. Thorne was to him the embodiment of simplicity and quiet power, and Edward B. Butler was appreciated by Mr. Burnham for his constant and faithful support of the work. "Frederick Delano," he said one day, "is a prince among men."

In connection with the general work of the Chicago Plan the North and South Boulevard project was revised, connecting Michigan Avenue with the Lake Shore Drive. Mr. Burnham's thoroughness was well illustrated by the exhaustive way in which the matter was studied. Again a tunnel under the Chicago River was proposed. That scheme had been worked out and abandoned for a bridge, but Mr. Burnham ordered all the plans from the vaults, had the project thoroughly studied, and once more proved it unsuitable. Later, every conceivable variation of the raised-level plan was studied, Mr. Burnham making a patient analysis of them all, even the evidently poor ones, in order that a unanimous agreement might be reached on the finest scheme. He thought that a poor scheme sometimes might suggest a good solution to a problem. Once decided, however, he would fight for a plan. The project later had endless discussion. Some Committee members were discussing a suggested compromise and one asked what Mr. Burn-

ham's opinion was. The answer was, "Oh, he automatically takes the broad view; he insists on no compromise."

The Chicago Plan was developed in 1906 and 1907. During this period I made many Sunday evening visits to Mr. Burnham's home, sometimes spending the night and coming in town by motor the next day with him. We met in the study or "Den," the family usually being present. Uncle Dan sat in his great chair near the staff mantelpiece, a reminiscence of the World's Fair, crowned with the Zorn portrait and carrying also the head of the Adams memorial, given to him by Saint-Gaudens. The room had his favorite pictures by Keith and many photographs of friends, made mostly during the Fair time.

One day in 1912, I was with him in his Evanston home when it was determined to postpone a projected trip to Europe owing to a serious reinfection of his foot. His foot was in bad shape and he was regarding it solemnly. He looked up and said, "This prolonging of a man's life does n't interest me when he's done his work and has done it pretty well."

In his estimate of men he looked for the deeper expressions, especially in artists. He was not deceived by technical cleverness. Men at their best were channels for a super-force or intelligence. He freely admitted men's limitations and faults and he apparently judged them by their power to overcome. One day in his own office he said to me, coming very close, eyes luminous (blue eyes shot with tiny flecks of dull fire): "Selfishness and envy is in us all; it is in you, it is in me; the difference in men lies in their power to overcome and control themselves." He understood the impulses of big men; one day he said, "Yes, that may not seem reasonable to you; but that's the way *he* feels about it."

Mr. Burnham's influence with men was probably founded on his power to analyze their thought or feelings, and to make them realize he understood what was in their minds. A personal basis was often established, giving him great influence especially over younger men. When a young man realizes that

CORNER OF LIBRARY IN MR. BURNHAM'S HOUSE AT EVANSTON, SHOWING WORLD'S FAIR FIREPLACE
ZORN PORTRAIT, AND HEAD BY SAINT-GAUDENS

an older man has this perception and when the young man knows that the older one stands for high ideals, it becomes easy to share these ideals, and to raise his plane of thought to them. At least he does not wish to be seen to fall below those ideals, and, willingly or not, he catches the spirit and becomes attuned to the thought of the elder man.

Mr. Burnham went far with this power of his and often used his ability to pierce the personal armor of another, when he wished to open his eyes and to influence him to the larger view. He used this power to my knowledge on an associate, a man whose fine qualities he admired, but whom he thought too much subordinated to the influence of academic duties and consequently to detail. A great plan was the subject. After a long interview between the two alone, Mr. Burnham admitted that he had "brought tears." This power with men, however, was fundamentally based on his own absolute sincerity and his belief in sincerity in others.

He once said of George Washington, whom he believed to have been the ruling influence in the L'Enfant plan of Washington: "He is probably the greatest Sincerity of all time."

His force commanded respect sometimes where it did not necessarily inspire affection in his contemporaries — outside or in his profession. One of the latter observed to me that he resembled a "railway locomotive under full steam, holding the right of way."

Mr. Burnham carried about in his pockets notes and clippings which he would haul out and read to his friends. One I remember was a verse by Kipling on responsibility, called "The Pro-Consuls."

He adored certain tales, real tales such as Dumas's "Three Musketeers" and "Tartarin of Tarascon," and he used to read them more than once during the year. His parable stories were well known to his friends, and seldom failed to make their point felt.

In my diary I find these entries:

"*February* 26, 1908. I called on Mr. Burnham at the Pres-

byterian Hospital. He was suffering from a foot infection and was in real danger. As usual he was serene. We talked of Swedenborg, or rather I listened to his discourse on the subject, and came away strengthened in purpose.

"*March* 5, 1908. Visited Mr. Burnham in Evanston; he has been through an operation on his foot, but is in good health. We talked of the Chicago Plan, but more of the philosophy of life and of his belief in the infinite possibilities of the material expression of the spiritual."

One recalls with great pleasure Mr. Burnham's addresses, or rather his talks, always warm and full of heart. His death in 1912 left a great void, but his influence was so fine and so strong that to those who knew him his presence continues and will continue to be felt

APPENDIX

A. The Plan of Manila
B. The Plan of Baguio
C. Buildings of Burnham & Root
D. Buildings of D. H. Burnham
E. Buildings of D. H. Burnham & Co.
F. City Plans

APPENDIX

A

SECRETARY ROOT in 1901 proposed to the members of the Senate Park Commission that after completing their studies in Europe they extend their journey to the Philippines for the purpose of giving advice to the Government as to the treatment of the City of Manila. This proved impracticable. In 1905, after the plans for Washington had been presented, Secretary Taft persuaded Mr. Burnham to prepare preliminary plans for the improvement of Manila and for the proposed summer capital at Baguio. The idea of applying thought as well as money to both the development of the old city and the plans for the new city in our insular possessions marks the two Secretaries of War as enlightened statesmen, mindful of the traditions of Washington and Jefferson.

On the receipt of the reports of Mr. Burnham and Mr. Anderson, Secretary Taft wrote to the former:

War Department, Washington
October 13, 1905

MY DEAR MR. BURNHAM:

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October sixth, enclosing preliminary plans and report for the improvement of Baguio, in the Province of Benguet.

I shall read the report and look over the plans with a great deal of interest.

It may be appropriate at this time for me to express to you the sense of obligation that I feel and that all the members of the Philippine Commission and the President feel towards you for your very great generosity and self-sacrifice in going to the Philippines to work out the plan for the improvement of Manila and Baguio. It is one of those rare instances of devotion to the public interest of which I wish we could see more. I wish to give personal testimony to the comfort you have given to those of us who are charged with the responsibility of making improvements in Baguio in the certainty that we feel that we can make no mistake in following your direction and lead for the next fifty years.

I sincerely hope that our paths may cross again in the near future. I wish to say that there was nothing in my visit to the Phil-

ippines that I so much enjoyed as the evidence of your having been there, and the proposals to make the improvements according to your plans.

I am, my dear Mr. Burnham

Most sincerely yours

Wm. H. Taft

Within three days after the plan of Manila was approved, work was begun. Happily, the task of construction was entrusted to William E. Parsons, a young American architect, who had eight years of continuous service before a policy of retrogression in the Philippines caused his resignation. At the time of his appointment, in November, 1905, Mr. Parsons had but recently received a diploma from the École des Beaux Arts, and had entered upon private practice in New York City. Under the terms of his agreement with Commissioner W. Cameron Forbes, Mr. Parsons had general architectural supervision over the design of all public buildings and parks throughout the islands. Thus he became the interpreter and executant of the Burnham-Anderson plans; and he also did private work. It is not possible to praise too highly the fidelity with which Mr. Parsons carried out the spirit of the plans, the judiciousness of the modifications he made in them, the simplicity, directness, and good taste which characterize the many and varied buildings he designed, the ability with which he solved problems both old and new, and the judgment he displayed in all his dealings with both officials and people.[1]

PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS AT MANILA

Chicago, June 28, 1905

Hon. William H. Taft
Secretary of War
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

In compliance with your instructions the undersigned, after visiting Manila and studying the existing conditions, have the honor to submit a plan of proposed improvements shown on two drawings presented herewith and described in the following report.

(*Signed*) D. H. Burnham
Peirce Anderson

[1] "The Work of William E. Parsons in the Philippine Islands." By A. N. Rebori. *The Architectural Review*, April and May, 1917.

Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila[1]

The City of Manila was founded by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1571 and declared capital of the archipelago. After suffering various vicissitudes, including insurrections and attacks by Chinese pirates, the city undertook, in 1590, extensive fortifications, of which parts are still standing. An attack by the Dutch in 1602 was successfully beaten off but the city finally succumbed in 1762 to the English who occupied the place until the treaty of 1764, by the terms of which the Islands returned to the Spanish crown. The history of Manila is uneventful from 1764 to 1896, the date of an insurrection that cost the lives of many prominent Filipinos, including Dr. Razal. This insurrection was still smoldering when Dewey's guns announced the downfall of Spanish sovereignty.

Given over to civil authority in 1901, Manila is governed by a Municipal Board under the authority of the Governor-General and his fellow Commissioners constituting the Government of the Philippine Islands.

Manila lies almost wholly on level ground, the surface of which is only a few feet above mean high tide. From the lake known as Laguna de Bay, the Pasig River winds through the city to the sea, forming in conjunction with the small drainage streams or *esteros* emptying into it, a group of important waterways on which much freight of the city is moved from place to place.

Most of the existing buildings were erected in Spanish times and are of a distinctly Spanish type. They were for the most part built of wood with projecting second stories; and their screen windows were built of translucent shells set in a small mesh grille. The roof which still further overhangs the building was commonly covered with beautiful dull red tile, and the effect of the whole is unusually pleasing. At the present time corrugated galvanized iron roofs are taking the place of the beautiful Spanish tile, to the serious detriment of the city's appearance. The old Spanish churches and the old Spanish government buildings are especially interesting, and in view of their beauty and practical suitability to local conditions could be profitably taken as examples of future structures. The general effect of the existing well-shaded, narrow streets is picturesque and should be maintained.

The present population of Manila is given in the report of the

[1] This report is accompanied by two plans: Plan of Manila showing proposed improvements; and plan of Manila Bay showing proposed Sea Boulevard.

Municipal Board for 1903 as 223,029. Owing to the probable active development of industry and agriculture in the near future, the population of Manila may be expected to increase rapidly, and the introduction of surface transportation will ultimately scatter this enlarging population over a greater territory than that enclosed by the present city limits. For the purpose of this report, however, no reference will be made to the territory outside those limits except in connection with parks and parkways, summer resorts, and country clubs.

Aim of the Proposed Plan

The aim of the proposed plan is to provide:

(1) Development of water-front and location of parks and parkways so as to give proper means of recreation to every quarter of the city.

(2) The street system securing direct and easy communication from every part of the city to every other part.

(3) Location of building sites for various activities.

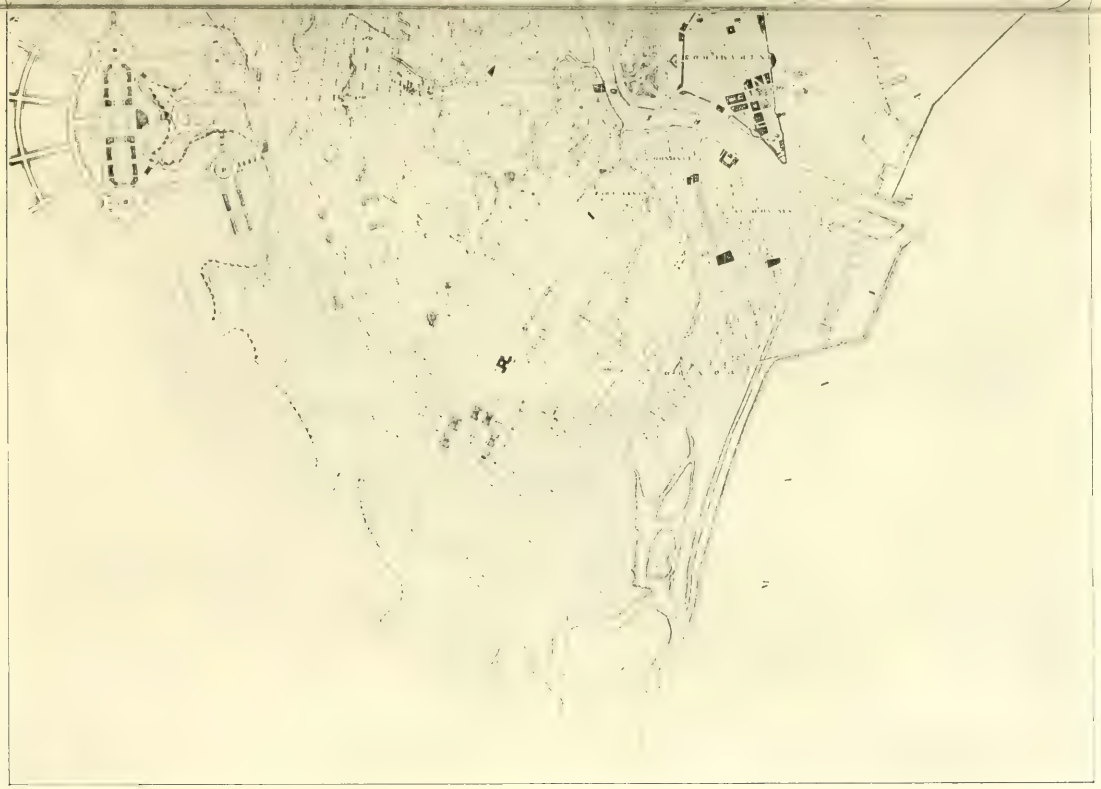
(4) Development of waterways for transportation.

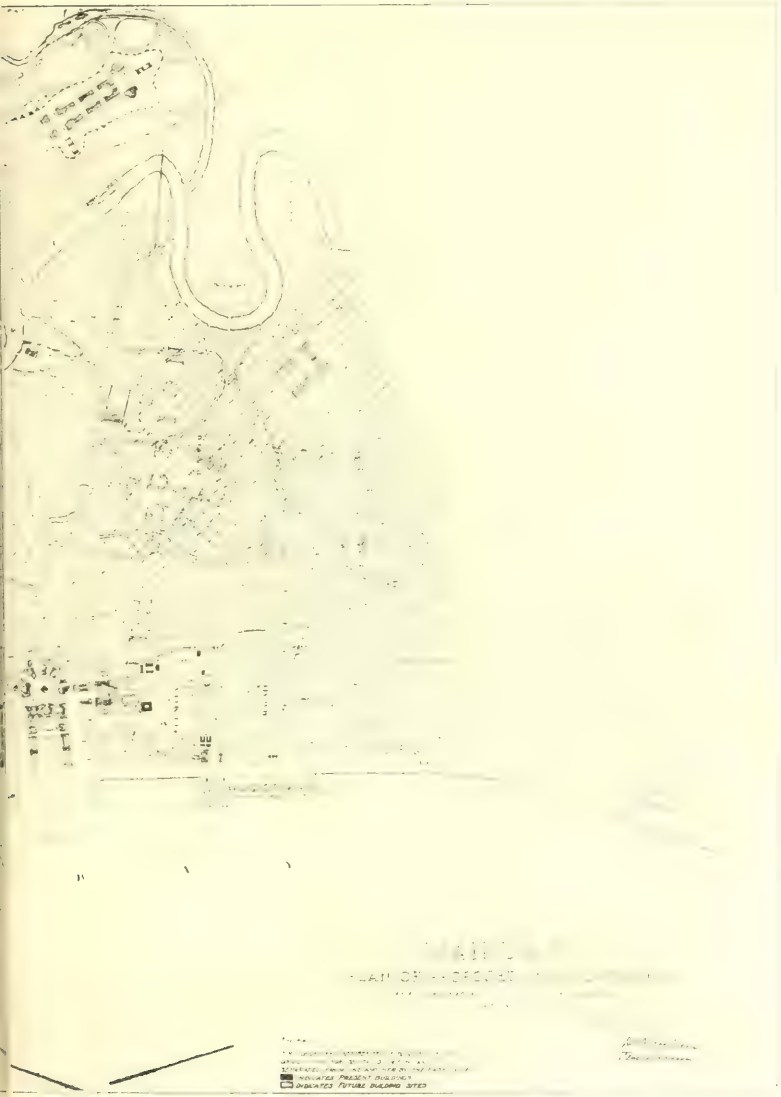
(5) Summer resorts.

(1) *Development of Water-Front, Parks and Parkways*

Manila, like most other towns at certain seasons, is subject to protracted periods of intense heat during which all exertion is accomplished at excessive cost of physical strength. Although these climate conditions are unchangeable, means for mitigating their effects are fortunately within reach. Besides the possibility of abundant foliage and fountains of water, Manila possesses the greatest resources for recreation and refreshment in its river and its ocean bay. Whatever portions of either have been given up to private use should be reclaimed where possible, and such portions as are still under public control should be developed and forever maintained for the use and enjoyment of the people. The bay front, from the present Luneta southward should have a continuous parkway extending, in course of time, all the way to Cavite, as shown on accompanying plan. This boulevard, about two hundred and fifty feet in width with roadways, tramways, bridle path, rich plantations, and broad sidewalks, should be available for all classes of people in all sorts of conveyances and so well shaded with palms, bamboo, and mangoes[1] as to furnish protection

[1] In order to make the boulevard presentable and useful as soon as possible a quick-




INDICATES PRESENT BUILDINGS
INDICATES FUTURE BUILDING SITES

from the elements at all times. Its seaward side should be planted so as to interrupt occasionally the view of the sea and by thus adding somewhat of mystery, enhance the value of the stretch of ocean and sky. The boulevard is on made ground about as far south as the old Fort San Antonio, beyond which it strikes the beach and follows the shore line to Cavite. The possible extension of the ocean boulevard along the north shore will naturally depend upon the development of the town in that direction and upon the question of additional harbor works north of the Pasig.

The banks of the Pasig should be shaded drives beginning as close to town as possible and continuing up the river, the south bank drive going to Fort McKinley, and beyond this to the lake.

The present Luneta, being covered by the Government group to be described later, is replaced by a new Luneta of the same size and shape and placed about one thousand feet further out in the bay on the new-made land. The objects of carrying the Luneta further out are to restore its former commanding outlook — partially cut off by the new works of the port — and also to form a large pleasure park near the centre of town and on the water front. This park, together with the Government Plaza east of it, forms a natural starting point for the bay-front boulevard and its extensions eastward and northward around the walled city. The level of the new Luneta is slightly below that of the adjoining park, from the balustrades of which the spectator will have a view of the Luneta and a fine prospect over it toward the sea. The existing Luneta plays such an admirable rôle in the social life of Manila that its advantages should be preserved unchanged. To this end the new Luneta, like the present one, is left without planting of any sort on its westward side so as to give an unobstructed view of the sea. The other three sides are enclosed with a double row of trees in order to partially shut in the Luneta, to provide protection from the sun, and also in order to let the bay be seen from the park through a screen of foliage.

The architects of all periods have recognized the fact that a building however beautiful in itself must fail of its highest effect unless provided with an appropriate setting. And in the study of these settings, parks and parking have always played an important rôle. The older cities of the world present numberless examples of the value of open spaces used to dignify important build-

growing tree like the acacia might be planted alternately with the trees of slower growth, and be replaced after the latter attain their growth.

ings, and in the arrangement of the proposed plan of Manila the most noteworthy examples have been frankly followed. Park spaces, small in extent, in the shape of plazas, circles, esplanades, parkway boulevards, have been laid out so that in any quarter of the city future buildings of importance may find already prepared for them a location susceptible of adequate treatment in its approaches and surroundings.[1] Although it is both impossible and undesirable to fix at present the location of many future buildings, the adoption of a street system containing many definite sites especially adapted to organic grouping of buildings will encourage the location of future buildings at such spots. And this fact should induce the owners of real estate to lend their support to a plan in which generous use of parking will enhance the desirability of neighboring property.

If the use of parks as an architectural accessory has long been common it has remained for the modern city with its immense and congested population to show the necessity of them as breathing places for the people. These parks are oftenest of two types, playfields of moderate size in the heart of the city, and large sylvan stretches located in the outskirts where more ample areas permit the laying out of beautiful walks and drives in the midst of romantic landscape.

Among the examples of the playground type are the fourteen parks recently created by the South Park Board of Chicago. Averaging from four to eighty acres in area these parks are destined to form veritable neighborhood club grounds for the use of the people. Each park provides facilities for the larger outdoor games, running track, separate outdoor gymnasia for men and women, large open-air swimming basins, swings, sand boxes, and wading pools for the children. Each park has a club building containing a large hall for public entertainments in addition to reading rooms, indoor gymnasia, baths for men and women, and small swimming pools.

The value of these wholesome resorts in the centre of a densely populated city cannot be overestimated. Experience has shown that they almost entirely eliminate certain classes of crimes and that their general effect is a marked improvement in the moral tone of the neighborhood. The new plan of Manila shows nine such parks evenly distributed over the city. However widely the

[1] The small square at one side of Calle Real facing the present English Club is an example of what can be done to beautify a city by very modest means.

actual final location of certain of them may vary from the position shown on the plan, the principle of equal spacing over all city districts should be adhered to.

Large parks of which the location at a certain distance from the centre of population does not interfere with their usefulness, will be chosen with especial regard to the landscapes' possibilities. Attractive stretches of water and ground of varying contours, present the greatest resources. With regard to varying contours, the only spot where the uniform dead level characteristic of Manila gives way to changes of elevation is northward of the city, from Santa Mesa toward the bay. On this higher ground at least one of the outer parks should be located.[1] With regard to parks determined by the use of water, three locations are suggested, — one north of the city in the low ground about the Vitas Channel, another south of the city, where the estero de San Antonio enters the bay, and a third east of the city in the narrow bend of the Pasig, near Santa Aña.[2]

These parks are all made accessible from one another by parkway boulevards, so as to permit a continuous journey entirely around the city from park to park without losing at any point the refreshment of green foliage. Each park is furthermore made accessible from all city centres by boulevards as shown. To appreciate the value of these encircling parkways, one has only to visit any French city of even moderate size. The exterior boulevard, wide and well shaded, is rarely lacking. In crossing such a city one can often conveniently leave a narrow and ill-favored street, and, without loss of time, enjoy a journey of some distance along a well-shaded parkway before again plunging into a less attractive quarter.

Whatever the value of parks and parking, their greatest charm and power of refreshment are only attainable in connection with flowing water. So clearly was the value of flowing water recognized in Rome that emperor and pope through the centuries have alike done their part in the creation of the fountains for which the city is justly famous. Wherever one goes in Rome the gentle spray of water is ready to refresh the eye and the ear. Rome has seen many catastrophies, involving the destruction of public works, but the great gravity aqueducts still bring in their flowing water

[1] See Park Number 3 on plan.

[2] In the absence of contour maps and detailed information regarding the real-estate conditions, no final design of parks could be attempted; and the parks sketched on the plan are intended merely as suggestions.

for the refreshment of the heat-ridden city. In Manila, in spite of difficult water supply conditions, it is to be hoped that in due time, the same wide use of playing fountains will help mitigate the trying effects of a tropical climate.

(2) *Street Systems*

The aim of the plan to realize ideal conditions in the unbuilt quarter of town must be seriously modified in the old built-up quarter where the existing streets, bridges, and harbor works cannot be ignored. In the proposed plan the general street arrangement is left substantially unchanged and no demolition of buildings or changes in the direction of the streets are suggested except such as seem imperatively called for to relieve present congestion and provide for the future needs of traffic. Should such changes appear excessive, two facts must always be borne in mind: First, that any plan worth the making is necessarily proportioned to future rather than present requirements. Second, that the execution of a plan including laying down of street lines and preliminary purchase of available real estate, must be begun early, even though left long incomplete, in order to avoid prohibitive future cost due to rise in real-estate values and the construction of costly improvements across the line of proposed streets. This immediate beginning is especially important at Manila, where the evils of congestion are even now manifest, where real-estate values, though considerable, are only nominal compared with those of other cities, and where the existing buildings are for the most part cheap and poor in character. Every year's delay adds to the difficulty and cost of modifying the old street system; and if Manila is in future days to possess the qualities of beauty and convenience appropriate for the capital of a great nation, the present is the moment to take the initial steps in order that time with its inevitable changes may aid the work rather than oppose it.

The first step consists in establishing the new street lines and purchasing such real estate as can be acquired without damage to property interests. It will probably be found that certain streets can be in this way entirely opened up at once. In certain other cases property interests would only allow the opening of a street in sections here and there. The completion of the work by removal of the remaining buildings can be left as is done in Paris — for half a century if necessary, until such time as public safety calls for their demolition, or until the owners on their own initiative

MODEL OF BURNHAM GREEN, MANILA

MR. BURNHAM AT BAGUIO, P.I.

decide to rebuild in accordance with the altered street lines. In this way, a street once begun will tend to complete itself with increased rapidity by the coöperation of the property owners themselves. A small present outlay will assure the ultimate completion of the improvement.

Certain of the old walls surrounding the Intramuros have been in existence since the end of the sixteenth century. Viewed as one of the few remaining examples of a mediæval fortified town, they possess singular historical and archæological interest, while their imposing appearance gives them great monumental value. The objections to their presence are based on alleged obstructions of traffic and ventilation. As obstacles to the free circulation of air, their moderate height compared with adjacent buildings seems to make them comparatively unobjectionable. With regard to their disadvantages as obstacles to traffic, their method of construction with massive corner bastions, making possible the piercing of an occasional gateway without destroying their effect, seems on this score also to leave them open to no serious objection.[1] The new street openings should be cut through the massive projecting bastions at the angles of the Intramuros. These bastions, being the nearest point to the Bagumbayan Drive, furnish the most available points for a roadway across the sunken lawns formed by filling the moats. Furthermore, an opening through these masses of masonry will be in a sense masked by the thickness of the walls, the entire opening not being visible to any spectator except one placed directly opposite the opening. Even wide openings at these points will still leave two masses so great as to constitute suitable flanking motives for a great gateway. Openings at other points than the corners will on the contrary cut through certain walls which are unsuited for adequate treatment as gateways except by the addition of a mass of architectural elements foreign to the simple and massive character of the walls themselves. The detached redoubts are left at the centre of the sunken panels as isolated monuments. The old Camp Wallace bastion, which should be preserved for the sake of its historical interest, is supposed taken down and rebuilt between the old wall and the Malacon Drive at a point not far from the line of Calle Anda.

The existing moat, necessarily stagnant, is open to serious objections on both sanitary and æsthetic grounds, that its elimi-

[1] In the Isabella Gate, two additional openings corresponding to the inside arches could be cut through without detriment to the effect of the wall and the gate.

nation seems unavoidable. It should be filled up and the counterscarp which it encloses should be levelled off so as to form sunken panels simply treated as a greensward without planting. This sunken garden will form useful play-fields, and serve as a proper setting for the old walls, whose apparent height can be enhanced by establishing the level of the sunken lawn as far below the neighboring streets as proper drainage will allow. The tops of the walls, made accessible to pedestrians and planted with overhanging stone pines after the manner of the beautiful enclosures of the Japanese castle in Tokyo, will become attractive loungingplaces and seen from below across the stretches of open lawn, will add an unique touch to the monumental aspect of the town.

In the outer districts of the city where no approved street system exists and where no improved property stands in the way of a *de novo* arrangement, a street system is provided in accordance with the following principles:

Avoidance of either north and south or east and west orientation of building sites.

Fan-shaped grouping of radiating streets.

Diagonal arteries allowing direct communication from any city district to any other.

The avoiding of north and south or east and west orientation of streets allows each of the four sides of the house to have the advantage of direct sunlight at some time during the day, with consequent gain in ventilation and sanitation.

The radial street scheme divides the town into five sections, of which the centre is constituted by the existing Intramuros and its adjacent territory. In each section the rectangular system prevails, one set of streets taking a direction toward the town centre, the other set being at right angles to this direction, the general effect of the whole arrangement being a fan-shaped system radiating from the centre and a tangentical system skirting the inner city in a general circular direction. The reason of this arrangement is the fact that from any given point in the outer section of the city, the volume of traffic toward the centre will exceed the volume of traffic toward any other single point. Hence the advantage of a system which directs half the street of a given quarter directly toward the busy centre.[1]

The practical convenience of a rectangular street system for a small town needs no argument; but its extension over a large area

[1] The city most nearly suggesting this fan-shaped system is modern Athens.

means that a person desiring to cross town in a diagonal direction is subjected to a serious loss of time and waste of energy in "tacking" to the right and left to reach his destination. In a large city like Chicago this unnecessary waste of time means enormous annual money loss and in case of fires may contribute to great disasters. Speaking generally, the planning of a town should be so carried out that a person may pass from any given point to any other point along a reasonably direct line. This has been accomplished in the proposed plan somewhat as at Washington, D.C. — the best planned of all modern cities — by superposing a system of wide diagonal arteries on the rectangular system above described. These arteries with the radial ones springing from the centre, all of them being wider than the average street, permit park-like connections with space for trolley cars, reaching all important centres of the city.

The avoidance of excessive cost of filling and the securing of protection from the sun call for streets as narrow as the needs of the traffic will allow. Such wider arteries as seem indispensable for such circulation should be well planted to provide ample shade, and in the wider avenues forming park connections the cost of filling can be reduced and the effect of the avenue enhanced by treating the centre as a sunken lawn.

The aim of the proposed street system of Manila is in brief to leave the old city streets untouched except for the creation of a few indispensable new arteries upon which work should be begun immediately. The old walls, left undisturbed except for street openings through the angle bastions, should have a setting formed by a sunken garden replacing the unsanitary moats. In the outer part of the town, a rectangular street system insures sunlight on all sides of the houses, provides especially ample streets in the line of heaviest traffic toward the town centre, and by means of radial and diagonal arteries makes every section of town readily accessible from every other.

In considering this street system we should bear in mind that the presence of water very near the surface places almost prohibitive difficulties in the way of depressed or underground connections of any sort. So that short of a recourse to expensive and objectionable track elevation there is only one way to provide for ample traffic, viz.: by sufficient street arteries. If any one fears that the plan as indicated goes beyond the probable needs of Manila, let him remember the foresight of Washington and L'En-

fant who planned a Capital city of 800,000 souls for a country whose entire population was about 4,000,000.

(3) *Location of Building Sites*

Among building groups the first in importance, the Government or National Group, — which would include Capitol Building and Department Buildings, — is located on the present Camp Wallace and the adjacent land back of Calle Nozaleda. Grouping itself closely about the Capitol Building at the centre it forms a hollow square opening out westward toward the sea. The gain in dignity by grouping these buildings in a single formal mass has dictated this arrangement, the beauty and convenience of which has been put to the test in notable examples from the days of Old Rome to the Louvre and Versailles [1] of modern times.

The eastern front of the capitol group faces a semi-circular plaza from whose centre radiates a street system communicating with all sections of the city — an arrangement entirely fitting for both practical and sentimental reasons; practical because the centre of governmental activity should be readily accessible from all sides; sentimental because every section of the Capitol City should look with deference toward the symbol of the Nation's power. The plaza allows space at its centre for a national monument of compact plan and simple silhouette.

The Court-House or Hall of Justice is given a separate location south of the main group and heading the vista down the avenue which passes the east front of the Capitol. The practice, too common in the United States, of grouping Court-House and Post-Office in one building, while convenient and economical from the point of view of federal administration, is in other respects unfitting. The post-office is a business machine affecting public interests. Its character, consonant with its practical necessities, is commercial. The Hall of Justice, on the contrary, far from being solely a business machine, represents sentimentally and practically the highest function of civilized society. Upon the authority of law depend the lives and property of all citizens; and the buildings which constitute the visible expression of law, its symbol of dignity and power, should be given the utmost beauty in their location, arrangement, architectural treatment, and approaches. A Hall of Justice should be treated as a thing apart, a thing majestic, venerable, and sacred. It should be above all free from the

[1] The entrance court on the town side is here referred to.

clatter of commerce and in its architectural expression should speak the greatness of its function. The moral effect of such a Hall of Justice, magnificent in outward form and aspect, compelling an attitude of respect if not inspiring a feeling of awe would be cheaply secured at large sacrifice of space and money.

Stretching from the Government group northward along Malacon Drive toward the bridge of Spain are spaces for a number of semi-public buildings such as libraries, museums, and permanent exposition buildings. The termination of this group forms a central circle from which radiates the three most used bridges over the Pasig. The lines of the Malacon Drive have been changed in order to reduce the street scheme to an orderly arrangement running parallel with the old walls and with them forming a consistent architectural composition. The Malacon Drive has also been widened to two hundred and fifty feet so as to form the continuation of the Ocean Boulevard.

It is fortunate that the existing buildings in this quarter — Municipal Building, Barracks, First Reserve Hospital, and others — are so located and of such a character as to afford no serious obstacle to carrying out the improvement. The value of the athletic fields near the town centre is recognized by placing back of the Libraries and Museums, two fields to replace the existing Camp Wallace playground.

The Post-Office, requiring frontage on the river for easy water transportation of mails, is located south of its present temporary site. If possible the river-bank should be left unobstructed here as elsewhere, and water approach provided by means of slips. This central location with converging avenues will make the building readily accessible from all sides.

One of the arteries radiating from the Government centre leads directly to the proposed passenger railway station, centrally located, with reference to Greater Manila, between Pace and Pandacon. This station, which is one of the two vestibules of the City, the Port being the other, thus stands in reciprocal relation to the administrative and governmental centre. The station is furthermore connected by its own system of radiating arteries with all quarters of the City. This location was determined by the double advantage of being near the heart of Greater Manila and of occupying a bend in the Pasig River such that the necessarily extensive development of the terminal property (for car storage, round-houses, coal yards, cleaning yards, etc.) could take

place with less cutting of traffic than at any other location, the river at this point furnishing a natural barrier that in any case would be crossed by infrequent bridges.

The railroad approach to the passenger station is over a bridge south of Santa Mesa heights. The future southern lines will enter the station over this bridge, after previously crossing a second bridge from the south side of the Pasig. This does not necessarily involve trouble for the southern lines since the northern lines will in any event need a bridge connection with the southern lines outside of the city limits, the Manila and Dagupan Railway having in fact already secured a right of way for such connection. On the other hand, to bring the southern lines to the station by a lateral approach inside city limits, and without crossing the Pasig, will interpose a serious barrier to the growth of Manila southward and eastward. The avoidance of such an obstacle should not in any event be prevented by the cost of a railway bridge. And an additional bridge is not a serious hindrance to navigation in a city where many bridges are inevitable.

The existing railway line to Antipolo puts between Manila and its valuable high ground near Santa Mesa a barrier that should, if possible, be minimized at some future time by converting the line to a suburban electric road and by securing a railroad outlet further from the town centre.

The Municipal Group, more important than any other except the Government Group and the Halls of Justice, is supposed to include the Ayuntamiento and to be grouped around Plaza McKinley. The Plaza might be enlarged by adding the block upon which the unfinished Spanish building stands. The plaza thus opened out to the Malacon Drive connects with a second plaza on the new-made ground, facing the proposed Custom House, Board of Trade, Commercial Museum, and other semi-public buildings and forming an impressive composition. The Custom House so located would be in convenient relation to the port and the city. The axis of the Municipal Group continues clear to the water-front, where a special pier with enlarged approaches and suitable accessories will lend itself to treatment in accord with this function as the principal Water Gate of Manila.[1]

In the belief that the bay front, with its boulevards and parks,

[1] The Water Gate, like the Railway Plaza, needs ample space for handling crowds of spectators and massing troops in connection with such public ceremonials as take place from time to time at the entrance of a great capital.

is the natural theatre of the social life of Manila, the residence of the Governor-General is located in the bay outside of the boulevard on the new-made land facing an esplanade out through the existing Malata military reservation. Fronting the residence of the Governor-General and facing one another on opposite sides of this esplanade are the houses of the Major-General Commanding the Department of the Philippines and the Vice-Admiral of the Station. From this esplanade, the centre of official life, radiating arteries reach out to all sections of the city.

Stretching south from the Governor-General's residence, also on new-made land, extend a series of city clubs, whose character as semi-public institutions justifies giving up to them a portion of the water-front. Each club will have ample grounds for gardens and outdoor games, as well as a broad terrace on the seaward side with suitable planting for protection from the sun's glare and the typhoon. It is believed that the close grouping of these clubs, as in London, will enhance their value to the whole community. The concentration of social activities through the related grouping of official residences, hotels, and clubs, in parkway boulevards and gardens along the water-front, will, it is believed, make possible an attractive social life that will bring many influential people to Manila and count for much in the prosperity of the Islands.[1] Along the shore beyond the city limits to the south is shown a suitable location for a country club, the main club buildings being located inside the ocean boulevard, but with space reserved for certain buildings on new-made land between the boulevard and the sea.

To the north of the Luneta Park is a space approximately 500 by 600 feet reserved for a hotel whose size, surroundings, and appointments are intended to deliver Manila once and for all from the standing reproach of inhospitality toward a traveller. A hotel on a sufficient scale in this location could be made renowned the world over, and constitute in itself alone an attraction strong enough to draw to Manila every traveller in the Orient. With three sides fronting on parks and boulevards, and the fourth side fronting the sea, the hotel site offers every possibility for a world famous resort.

Opposite the hotel site and south of the park provision has been

[1] The delightfulness of a city is an element of first importance to its prosperity, for those who make fortunes will stay and others will come if the attractions are strong enough and the money thus kept at home added to that freely spent by visitors will be enough to insure continuous good times. The aim should be to make Manila, really, "The Pearl of the Orient."

made, on a space 300 x 600 feet, for small boat clubs, a casino, and public baths.[1]

A group of schools forming perhaps a university would be well placed on Santa Mesa Heights, having the advantages of proper detachment from the city, good air, high ground, and available water for aquatic sports.

The high ground north and east of the city is also well adapted for parks as well as hospitals, sanitaria, asylums, and other semi-public institutions demanding a quiet location conveniently accessible from the city.[2]

(4) *Development of Water Transportation*

The new port work with its necessary railroad facilities, demands a railroad approach from either the south or the north side of the river. The railroad already exists on the north side and its continuation to reach the new-made land can be accomplished by bridging the Pasig near its mouth. On the other hand, a railway approaching the harbor from the south side of the town would cut through the city in such a way as to destroy real-estate values and also be a constant source of danger unless the tracks were elevated. But the expense of track elevation is clearly prohibitive for a long time to come. The lesser evil is, therefore, a railway drawbridge over the Pasig. Such a bridge across the mouth of a stream running at certain times at ten knots an hour constitutes, in the opinion of experts, a serious hindrance to navigation, and will materially reduce the value of the river frontage above the drawbridge. This frontage, limited by the bridge of Spain, is already unequal to the existing demands, and will call for extension in the near future.

The additional wharfage, if found in the new port, would be far from the present business district in San Nicolas and Binondo, so that unless business should consent to move south of the river, an additional harbor north of the river seems inevitable. Such a harbor entered from the present eighteen foot channel, is shown on the plans in close relationship with the business and railway freight district. This harbor of moderate depth for coastwise steamers lends itself to indefinite extension northward at comparatively

[1] The suitability of this point for bathing facilities will depend on the formation of a beach by silting of the sand against the new retaining wall.

[2] While no such groups can be designated at present, the plan shows the kind of arrangement that could be used to advantage on this exceptionally favorable ground, and provides for an improvement that will be inevitable in the course of time.

small expense, the area of valuable reclaimed land being considerable in proportion to the cost of retaining walls built in shallow water. There is little doubt that private corporations, in the absence of Government initiative, would be glad to undertake such improvements in exchange for privileges in connection with the new-made land.

The narrow canals or *esteros* ramifying throughout Manila, with their almost stagnant water and their unsanitary mud banks, would appear at first sight to be undesirable adjuncts of the city. Yet for transportation purposes they are of the utmost value, and in spite of the serious problems involved in properly widening, bridging, and maintaining them they should be preserved. In the coast cities of the Orient *esteros* are numerous and it is a long fixed habit of the people to transport goods upon them, their availability for the poorest boatman making them peculiarly valuable. To develop the full usefulness of the system, certain of the *esteros* should be filled up and the others widened and dredged to a practical depth; all of them should be provided with masonry banks. So treated they will offer an economical and unobjectionable means of freight handling that will greatly contribute to the prosperity of the city.

A complete development of the *estero* system would comport an *estero* connection — as suggested by Major James F. Case — between the Pasig River and the Vitas Channel, while an amplification of the *estero* system connected with the Pasig River near Santa Aña and opening into the bay through the San Antonio *estero* might serve by its independent channels materially to diminish the danger of overflow of the Pasig.

The *estero*, it should be remembered, is not only an economical vehicle for the transaction of public business; it can become as in Venice, an element of beauty. Both beauty and convenience dictate a very liberal policy toward the development of these valuable waterways.

In addition to creating on the river-banks a continuous shaded drive in the outer districts, every effort should be made to establish an open quai along both river-banks in the business parts of the town in order that river steamers may make the frequent landings demanded by the public service. Large manufacturing houses can serve their own interests without inconvenience to the public by building river slips or branches of the *estero* system on their own ground, as suggested for the proposed new Post-Office.

The river-banks should be everywhere available for the use of the public.

(5) *Summer Resorts*

The climate of Manila seems to call for the establishment of accessible summer resorts on high ground, and however useful Baguio may be as a health resort, no town a hundred miles or more from Manila can entirely take the place of comfortable resorts within easier reach of the Capital. The low hills near Manila on the east, the higher mountains of Mariveles across the bay, the hill country surrounding Laguna de Bay, all offer possible locations for summer resorts within easy range of the city and furnishing change of air for the families of Government employees without the drawback of family separation and great cost of transportation.

Future Building Methods

The first consideration in determining architectural style is the question of adaptability to local conditions. In any given locality the things already existing as a result of long experience are likely to prove the best. In Manila, this general rule seems to apply with especial force.

The wooden houses with overhanging second stories and continuous window screens are convenient, practical, and artistically admirable. Owing to the difficulty of locating telegraph and telephone poles in the narrow streets bordered by houses with overhanging second stories, the Municipal Board of Manila has recently adopted the policy of prohibiting the further construction of projecting second stories in narrow streets. In view of the pleasing effect and adaptability to the climate of this characteristic style of construction its suppression is regrettable. Some other method of supporting electric wires — perhaps from the housetops —might be devised in order that a desirable method of building may not be discontinued.

The beautiful roofs of Spanish tile are also rapidly losing ground before the invasion of galvanized iron. While the cheapness of the iron roof recommends its use for temporary service, there is no doubt that for permanent buildings the long-lived Spanish tile will prove more economical. And an examination of some of the very old tile roofs of Manila leads to the conviction that the alleged dangers of tile roofing in an earthquake country have been greatly

exaggerated. In the matter of tile roofing, as in other building matters, the Spanish traditions are deserving of acceptance.

In a tropical climate costly structures put up with granite, marble, or other building stones in the manner of public buildings in Europe and America would be out of place. Flat walls, simply built of concrete (with steel reënforcing rods to resist earthquake), and depending for their effect upon beautiful proportions rather than upon costly materials, are from all points of view most desirable for Manila. The old Spanish buildings with their relatively small openings, their wide arched arcades and large wall spaces of flat white-wash possess endless charm, and as types of good architectures for tropical service, could hardly be improved upon. To mention a few examples in Manila: The Ayuntamiento, the Intendencia, the Cathedral, the tower of Santa Cruz, the circular cemetery on Calle Mozaleda, and the inner court of the present constabulary barracks at Paranaque are especially noteworthy.

Conclusion

The above description of the existing conditions with suggestions as to their most obvious possibilities, shows that improvements of great scope are attainable in Manila by reasonable means. On the point of rapid growth, yet still small in area, possessing the bay of Naples, the winding river of Paris, and the canals of Venice, Manila has before it an opportunity unique in history of modern times, the opportunity to create a unified city equal to the greatest of the Western world with unparelleled and priceless addition of a tropical setting.

In keeping pace with the national development and in working persistently and conscientiously toward an organic plan in which the visible orderly grouping of its parts one to another will secure their mutual support and enchantment, Manila may rightly hope to become the adequate expression of the destiny of the Filipino people as well as an enduring witness to the efficient services of America in the Philippine Islands.

B

PLAN OF BAGUIO, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Chicago, October 3, 1905

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT
Secretary of War
Washington, D.C.

SIR:

IN compliance with your instructions the undersigned, after visiting the proposed town site of the City of Baguio, Province of Benguet, P.I., and studying the existing conditions, have the honor to submit a preliminary city plan presented herewith and described in the following report.

(*Signed*) D. H. BURNHAM
PEIRCE ANDERSON

REPORT ON THE PROPOSED PLAN OF THE CITY OF BAGUIO PROVINCE OF BENGUET, P.I.[1]

THE lands reserved by the Government for public uses, civil and military, at Baguio, Province of Benguet, P.I., include considerable areas of more or less abrupt and hilly country. They include comparatively little level land. There are, however, three sites offering stretches of approximately horizontal ground. One strip running east and west just below the present village of Pakdal; another in the Military Reservation; and a third the Mountain Meadow, where the Sanitarium, Constabulary Barracks, and other buildings now stand, and which is known at present under the name of Baguio. No one of these areas is sufficient for a large city. All three of them would have to be made use of for important buildings through the construction of suitable connections which should make them reciprocally accessible. On the other hand, for a small town, these three sites are too far apart to be all valuable for business activities.

The first step, therefore, toward locating a town within the limits of the Baguio Reservations is the determination of the probable size of the future community. While the present condi-

[1] This report is accompanied by a map of Baguio dated October 3, 1905. Scale, one inch = 200 feet.

tions permit no trustworthy estimate of the future growth, the assumption is made, for the purpose of this report, that the City of Baguio in the near future may reach, but not exceed a population of 25,000 inhabitants. For a city of this size the best results in practical convenience and appearance are to be had by the concentration of business and the necessary public activities in a single compact group. Of the three sites available for such a group, the Pakdal strip and the military side have the advantage of a more commanding outlook. The Baguio meadow, on the other hand, has the largest available area of level land; and in the light of all the conditions offers the most practical location. The preliminary plan submitted herewith accordingly provides for placing all the more important activities, including business, municipal, and Government functions, in and around the Baguio meadow, leaving the outlying districts such as Pakdal and the slopes toward Trinidad and the sea for residence property and detached institutions of public and semi-public nature.

The Baguio meadow is about one-half mile wide by three-fourths of a mile long, and is roughly elliptical in shape. It is surrounded on all sides by low hills attaining an elevation of 100 to 200 feet above it. At two points, on the north and south, the encircling ridges sink nearly to the level of the central plain; the southern opening admits the new Benguet Road; and the northern opening gives exit to a small stream which rises in the valley and makes its way toward the north. The essential conditions are, therefore, an enclosed hollow dominated by low hills and connecting ridges. The problem thus consists in finding the best location within this area for the principal elements of the town, namely: business, municipal buildings, and National Government buildings. Assuming that approximately level ground is the most convenient for the transaction of business, the business town is shown on the plan as occupying the level floor of the meadow and the gentler slopes of the ridge to the northwest. The municipal buildings, while demanding close contact with the business quarter, should yet be given a location and a set of approaches of unmistakable dignity. The Government buildings, while reasonably accessible from the business quarter, should be so located and so treated in their approaches and surroundings as to make clear their preëminence over all other buildings of the city. The surroundings of the Baguio plain respond in a satisfactory manner to these conditions. The ridge to the northwest of the valley gives

the municipal group a dominant location in close relation with the business quarter. The so-called "Governor's Mountain," with its four neighboring hills at the southeast of the valley, forms a high plateau which frankly dominates the plain below, and which at once suggests itself as the most fitting spot for the National buildings, which are to be the head of the whole composition.[1] The two principal groups, National and municipal, thus face one another from opposite ends of the valley; and a line drawn between them (from the Governor's Mountain to the "Tribunal" building) very nearly bisects the valley and forms the natural main axis of the town. This axis has been treated as an open esplanade with a central *tapis vert* or greensward.

Starting from this primary grouping of fundamental elements of the town, the aim of the proposed plan is:

(1) To provide a street system adapted to the changing contours, allowing easy communication and avoiding east-west and north-south orientation of building lines.

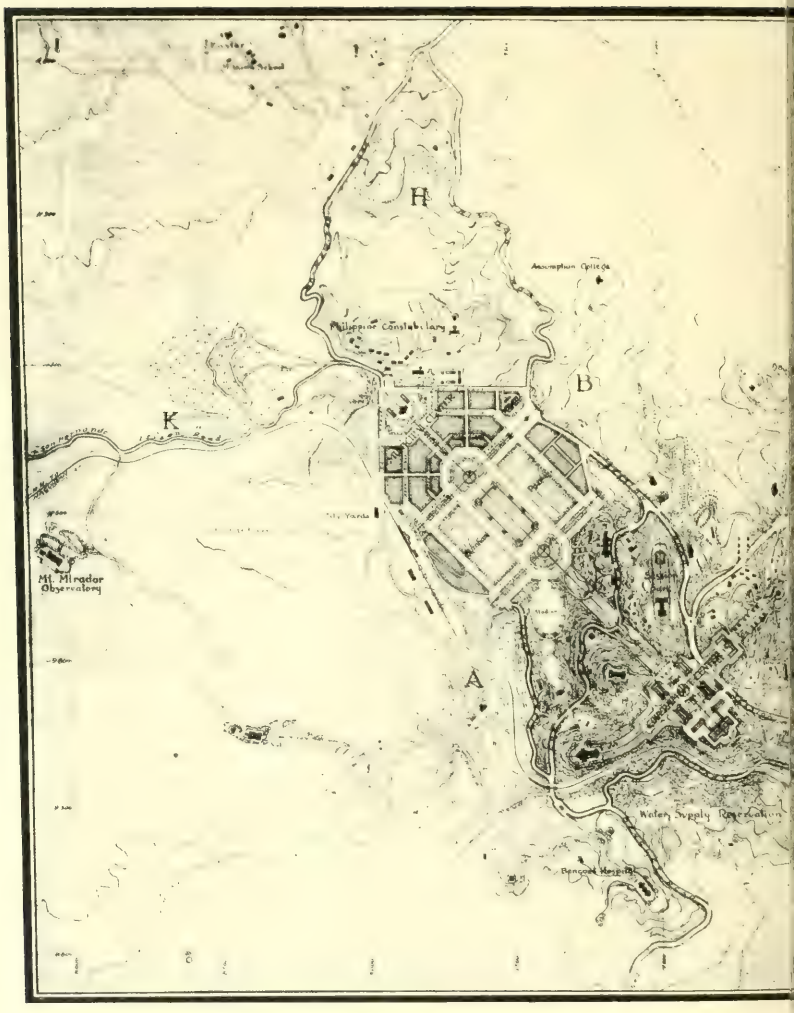
(2) To provide suitable location for public, semi-public, and private institutions of importance.

(3) To provide recreation areas in the shape of playgrounds, parks, and open esplanades or parkways.

(1) *Street System*

Accepting the principle that a regular geometric street system is the most convenient for the closely built sections of the city, the aim of the plan has been to lay down a geometrical scheme which will adapt itself as closely as possible to the ungeometrical contours of the Baguio Valley. This street system may seem at first sight to be somewhat arbitrary, failing as it sometimes does to conform strictly to the lay of the ground. Such partial failure is, however, inevitable in any orderly arrangement. While maintaining a street system convenient for traffic, the intention is to carry through the lines of the streets to commanding points on the hillsides and thus permit the location of monumental buildings where they command a view down neighboring streets, and count

[1] The location of a large building group on Governor's Mountain will require somewhat extensive grading operations in order to realize the best conditions; but similar work would be required at any commanding site within the reservation. The only other course (namely, locate the principal public buildings down in the hollow) would have the advantage of economy, but would be in other respects undesirable and constitute a deliberate abandonment of the unusual monumental possibilities of the proposed town site. The location of the public buildings on the higher ground is the one principle which should be firmly held in the face of all obstacles.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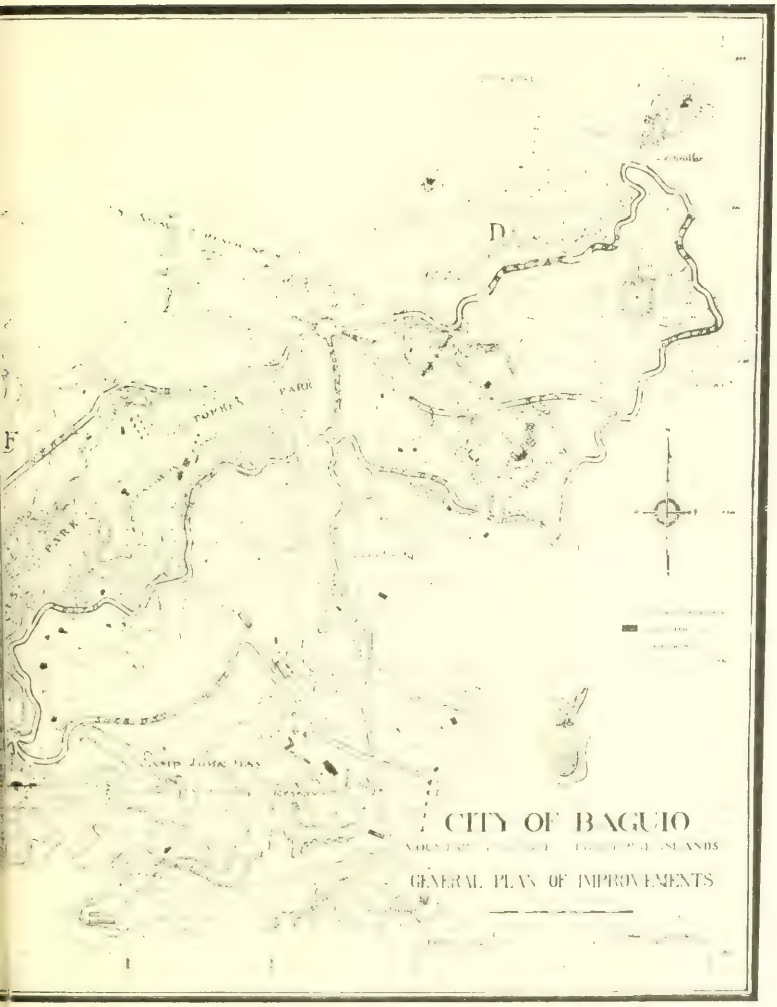
Philippine Constabulary
B
K
Mt. Mirador
Observatory
A
Water Supply Reservation


D
POPPIA PARK
PARK
CITY OF BAGUIO
GENERAL PLAN OF IMPROVEMENTS

for their full value as an important element in the general effect. To pursue the opposite course and destroy vistas by clinging closely to the contours, thus avoiding difficulties in grading and filling, would throw away the unique monumental possibilities of the proposed city. The hill towns of Italy and France, not to mention those of Japan, abound in instances of the charm and convenience of a plan in which the lines of the level streets are carried steeply up the hillsides to terminate the vista at points of especial interest. Wherever the prolongation of street line encounters a gradient too steep for convenient traffic, the necessary connecting streets must be provided to facilitate the movement of vehicles; but though the line of traffic bends to the right or to the left to reach the higher ground, the vista formed by the prolongation of the streets should in most cases be kept open and treated with rampes or steps for the convenience of pedestrians. One of the most notable examples of this admirable system of street planning is the Capitol at Washington as approached from Pennsylvania Avenue, Maryland Avenue, and the Mall. The steep grades at Washington prevent the carrying of these streets directly up to the Capitol, but though the streets turn aside in order to reach the higher level, the line of vision is kept open permitting the buildings to command the vista down these streets.

Should the proposed plan appear to any one to call for unreasonable difficulties in the way of grading and filling, such cities as Genoa and San Francisco, to mention only two instances, will illustrate the comparative ease with which great physical obstacles are overcome in the natural course of municipal growth. The best scheme being determined, its adoption should not be called into question because an inferior scheme would be somewhat easier of execution in detail. Experience shows that with a little time, problems of grading and filling would be easily solved, especially at places like Baguio where labor is cheap and where solid rock is generally absent.

In the orientation of the streets the avoidance of north-south or east-west direction allows each of the four sides of the houses to profit by direct sunlight at some time during each day — a condition of very great value in the point of view of ventilation and sanitation.

Ease of communication in a town as small as Baguio does not necessitate many diagonal arteries. The ones which are shown spring naturally from the diagonal entrance of the new Benguet

Road at the southern corner of the composition, or are determined in like manner by the direction of the contours enclosing the valley. The abrupt rise from the valley to the Government centre prevents direct access for vehicles and calls for a series of stairs and terraces of monumental character. The carriage approach from the valley follows gentler grades along the hillsides.[1]

(2) *Location of Subsidiary Building Groups*

The slopes of the hills surrounding Baguio plain, as well as those of the neighboring hills, offer many beautiful sites for the various institutions such as schools, churches, hospitals, sanitaria, etc., which will require suitable location near the town. The plan makes some suggestions for the location of subsidiary buildings, but does not attempt in the absence of any knowledge of actual requirements, to determine the location of any particular group, with the exception of the official residence for the Governor-General of the islands, and the Major-General Commanding the Department. These two houses are shown on the opposite sides of the main approach leading up to the Government centre from the Main Esplanade in the valley. The location of these buildings, each on its knoll, overlooking the Main Esplanade, brings them somewhat close to the business town, but has the advantage of making them formally a part of the visible Government functions. In case the Governor-General should prefer to have his residence more detached from the active centre, a desirable location has been shown at the spot marked "Outlook Point" at the extremity of the Pakdal Plateau. In case it is preferable that the Major-General Commanding the Department should have his residence in the Military Reservation or elsewhere, the house opposite that of the Governor-General might be suitable for the home of the Vice-Governor.

Almost all the ground of the Pakdal site is shown divided up into building lots of from three to ten acres with the idea of making it a fashionable quarter for the residences of the more wealthy people. The edge of the plateau at Outlook Point might well be treated as a broad public terrace for the benefit of those who may have an hour or two to idle away in enjoyment of this wonderful

[1] In the absence of surveys covering the surrounding territory, the plan necessarily lacks the system of roads such as would be properly included in a general outline. Such roads and streets as are shown have been sketched in without detailed study of engineering requirements. The plan does not aim to fix absolutely any axes or street intersections, or to determine grade, elevation, or width of streets.

outlook. Private houses of lesser importance are shown dotting the slopes of the hills immediately surrounding Baguio proper. Another section which might well be built up with beautiful residences is the sloping country to the northwest with a prospect toward the sea.

The absence of data regarding the possible railway approach to the town prevents the proper consideration of this problem. The proposed trolley line, if carried into Baguio along the new Benguet Road, might have its terminal located in the hollow where the Benguet Road bends northward to enter the valley. Treated as a formal gateway to the city, and facing the north and south diagonal axis toward the business centre, such a terminal would make an imposing and fitting entrance to the city.

(3) *Recreation Areas*

In order to provide ample area for recreation the main avenue approach from the Benguet Road as well as the other principal axes of the valley are shown provided with side stretches of greensward forming a continuous parkway. A large area suitable for play-fields of all sorts is also located at the west of the town where the enclosing hills form a natural hollow. At two other points where the contours lend themselves to such treatment, open-air theatres, such as the structure recently built at the University of California, are indicated and would lend themselves to games and various ceremonies connected with public gatherings. A Country Club would be conveniently placed at Lloacan, where there are suitable areas for golf and other sports. In addition to the above, it is suggested that large portions of all surrounding hills should be declared public property and maintained as informal parks. The tops of the hills especially should be set aside as public reservations in order that their cresting of green may be carefully preserved. A few buildings of exceptional importance are shown occupying the hill-tops. This should not be the general practice. The placing of formal architectural silhouettes upon the summits of the surrounding hills would make a hard sky-line and go far toward destroying the charm of this beautiful landscape. On the other hand, to place buildings on the sloping hillsides where they would be seen against a solid background of green foliage is to give them the best possible setting without mutilating their surroundings. The preservation of the existing woods and other planting should be minutely looked after, not only on the emi-

nences immediately contiguous to Baguio proper, but also for the surrounding mountains; and the carrying out of these precautions should be one of the first steps in the development of the proposed town. Unless early protective measures are taken the misdirected initiative of energetic lumbermen will soon cause the destruction of this beautiful scenery.

While it is a source of regret that the present conditions do not point to an abundant supply of water for the future town, the plan as sketched out provides many slopes and focal points at street intersections where water, if ever available, can be used with the greatest effect. It is to be hoped that through hydraulic development of the Agno River and other streams the time may come when ample water supply will enable the town to provide this most precious and beautiful auxiliary.

The question of sewerage system is only connected in a general way with the subject-matter of this report. In case storm water is to be taken care of by sewers, great lengths of large section sewers of the "combined" system will be necessary. Such sewers, besides solving difficult problems of leakage and repairs to gas mains, air, water, steam, and electric mains, are of inestimable value in eliminating bad paving, as well as unsightly and unsanitary conditions involved in the constant tearing up of streets. Experience seems to show that underground conduits, though costly in execution, are economical in the long run, and count for much in the making of wholesome and habitable cities.

Conclusion

The plan outlined above is necessarily fragmentary on account of the absence of surveys and is frankly preliminary in character. What is hoped for is that it may serve to suggest the general lines along which the new municipality may grow into a composition of convenience and beauty.

C

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS DESIGNED BY BURNHAM AND ROOT

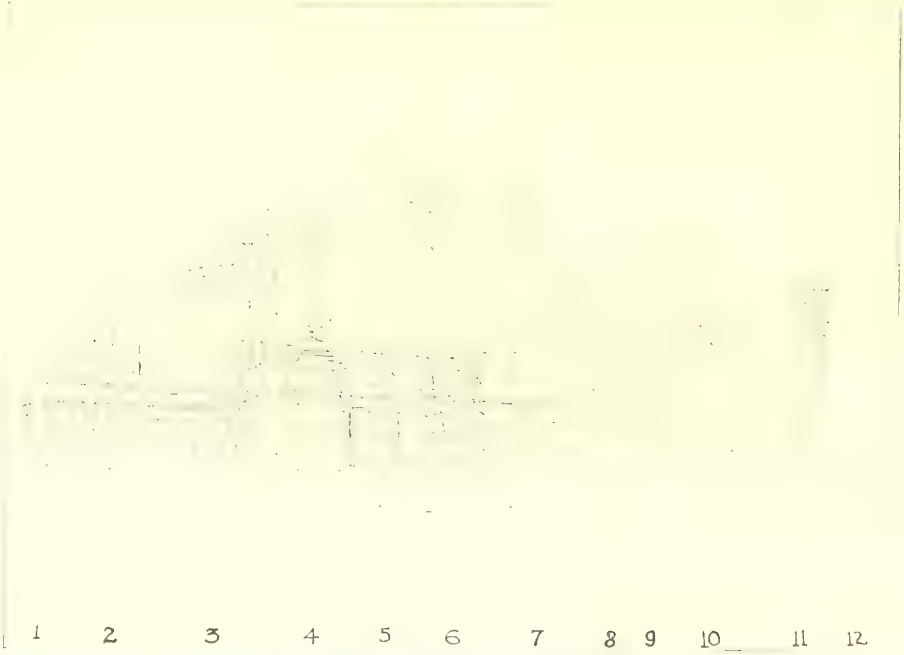
CHICAGO

1873	C. Mason	House and five barns	Monroe and Laflin Streets
	John B. Sherman	House and barn	2100 Prairie Avenue
1874	A. E. Bornique	Academy	23d Street and Calumet Ave.
1875	George E. Adams	House	Clark and Belden
	Mrs. Catharine Price	House	Ontario Street
	Henry D. Lloyd	House	202 Michigan Avenue
	Stockyards Exchange	Office	Stockyards
1876	F. F. Spencer	House	
1877	A. H. Burley	House	254 Dearborn Avenue
	O. W. Clapp	House	Prairie Avenue
	Edward Engle	House	North State Street
	H. H. Shufeldts	House for W. C. Eagan	Morgan Street
	St. Gabriel's Church		Wallace and 45th Sts.
1878	Isaac Eldredge	House	Indiana Avenue
	Mary A. Roset	House	North La Salle Street
	General Phil Sheridan	Alterations to house	Michigan Avenue
	Joseph Sears	House	1815 Prairie Avenue
1879	E. H. Stickney	House	Huron Street
	C. C. Thompson	House and barn	3336 Michigan Avenue
	Eugene Fisk	House	
	J. M. Walker	House	
	Hugh R. Wilson	House and barn	Evanston
	A. Hayden	House	
	W. T. Baker	House and barn	Michigan Avenue
1880	Goeffey Bessy	Factory	Olive Street
	South Park	Bridge	South Park
	Stephen Gale	House	
	Mrs. S. A. Smalley	House	
	Norman B. Ream	House and barn	Groveland Park
	Mrs. Julia F. Porter	House	Clark St. and Fullerton Ave.
	Amos Grannis	Office building	Dearborn Street
	Fallon School		Town of Lake
	Father J. M. Dorney	Convent	45th and Wallace Sts.
1881	C. C. Baker	House	34th and Indiana Ave.
	Augustus Byram	House	29th and Michigan Ave.
	Jonathan W. Brooks, Jr.	House	293 Ontario Street
	W. F. Cobb	House	Rush Street
	Arthur J. Caton	House and barn	Calumet Avenue
	Thomas Dent	House	Prairie Avenue
	Sarah O. Eagan	House	Dearborn Street
	S. E. Eagan	House	Dearborn Street
	Henry H. Shufeldts	House	North Ave. and Dearborn St.

	Byron L. Smith	House	Prairie Avenue and 22d St.
	Charles A. Gregg	House	
	Tappen Halsey	House	
	Marvin Hewitt	House	
	P. C. Brooks	Montauk Block	Monroe Street
	C. B. & Q. Ry.	Office building	Adams and Market Sts.
	Calumet Club		20th and Michigan Ave.
1882	Chicago Club built as Academy of Fine Arts		Michigan and Van Buren
	John B. Alling	House	
	Owen F. Aldis	House	Walton Place
	Arthur Bingham	House	29th St. and Prairie Ave.
	John C. Black	House and barn	Walton Place
	James Charnley	House	Division St. & Lake Shore Drive
	Major H. A. Huntington	House	Walton Place
	Charles L. Hutchinson	H. M. Kinsley house	Prairie Ave.
	A. J. Kirkwood	House	La Salle Street
	S. A. Kent	House	2944 Michigan Avenue
	W. C. Kelley	Barn	Calumet Avenue
	Palmer V. Kellogg	House	Prairie Avenue
	J. A. Mason	House	
	W. D. Walker	Geo. A. Marsh house	2729 Prairie Avenue
	John H. Wrenn	Houses	Prairie Avenue
	J. Robertson	House	
	C. B. Farwell	House	Pearson Street
	John V. Farwell	House	Tower Court
	Chicago Provision & Grain Stock Board	Office	Calhoun Place
	C. M. Fullerton	Flats	65 Eighteenth Street
	Frederick Ayer	Store	Lake Street and Wabash Ave.
	Smith, Burdette & Co.		16th, Brown, and Pearson Sts.
	W. D. Walker	Five houses	18th Street and Indiana Ave.
1883	Garfield Park	Casino	
	Armour Memorial		Thirty-Third Street
	Thomas R. Burch	House	
	Miss Annie Barnette	House	
	George D. Baldwin	House	
	Charles W. Clingman	House	
	H. A. Christy	House	
	Z. S. Holbrook	Five houses	Evanston
	Geo. V. Hankin	House and barn	Michigan Avenue
	H. M. Kinsley	Barn	Prairie Avenue
	W. R. Linn	House and barn	Michigan Avenue
	Geo. S. Lord	House and barn	Evanston
	Matthews & Cornwell	Two houses	
	R. Strahorn No. 1	House and barn	47th Street
	Frank C. Osbourne	House	
	R. Strahorn No. 2	Houses	47th Street
	A. A. Sprague	House and barn	
	G. W. Smith	House	Evanston
	Clara W. Woodyatt	House	Evanston
	Jas. W. Brooks	House	293 Ontario Street

1884	Washington Park	Skating Rink	
	Joseph Frank	House	Michigan Avenue
	Wm. E. Hale	House and barn	Drexel and 46th Sts.
	John. A. Lynch	House for A. Mackay	560 N. State Street
	George E. Marshall	House	Hawthorne Place
	John McCully	House	
	Colonel Waterman	Four houses	Cornell Avenue
	G. H. Wheeler	House and barn	
	Henry D. Warner	House and barn	
	S. T. Byrne	House	
	Mrs. I. Atkinson	House	
	Traders Building	Office building	La Salle Street
	Charles Counselman	Office building	La Salle Street
	43d Street School	School	
	J. W. Carpenter	Flats	Seeley & Van Buren Streets
	Cyrus H. McCormick	Warehouse	
1885	I. N. W. Sherman	Factory	Fifth Ave. and Charles Street
	Edward E. Ayer	House and barn	State and Bank Streets
	Edward A. Burdette	House	49 Bellevue Place
	Mrs. M. F. Crosby	House	
	A. Crossman	House	
	C. C. Collins	Three houses	22d and Prairie Avenue
	Geo. P. A. Healey	House	55 Cedar Street
	M. C. Jones	House	
	Thomas Lord	House	Evanston
	John H. Leidigh	House	335 Ashland Avenue
	A. L. Thomas	House	
	O. D. Wetherill	House	Calumet Avenue
	J. H. Pearson	House	520 W. Adams Street
	Chicago Deposit Vault Co.	Office building	Van Buren, Sherman, and La Salle Streets
	Postal Telegraph Building formerly Rialto Bldg.	Office building	La Salle Street
	The Rookery	Office building	Adams and La Salle Sts.
	Union Bank Building	Office building	115 Dearborn Street
	Western Union Telegraph Buildling, formerly Phœnix Insurance Co.	Office building	Jackson and La Salle Streets
	Sixty-First Street School	School	Town of Lake and Hyde Park
	Church of the Covenant	Church	Halsted St. and Belden Ave.
	Mrs. E. E. Springer	Flats	La Salle and Division Streets
	Norman B. Ream	Warehouse	153 S. Water Street
1886	Mrs. A. Baldwin	House	Woodlawn Park
	Charles Counselman	House and barn	51st St. and Greenwood Ave.
	David K. Hill	House and barn	26th St. and Michigan Ave.
	L. K. Merrill	House	29th St. and Groveland Ave.
	Lewis B. Mitchell	House	50 Astor Street
	Rev. Henry P. Willard	House	Fifty-Sixth St. and Woodlawn
	J. H. Winterbotham	House	Woodlawn Park
	Frederick K. Morrill	House	29th and Greenwood Sts
	The Argyle Co.	Flats	Jackson and Michigan
	Pickwick Associated Co.	Flats	Twentieth and Indiana

	Henry Du Pont	Warehouse	Twenty-Second and Union Sts.
	L. P. Smith	Store	
	G. V. Hankins	Flats	Twenty-Ninth Street
1887	Charles M. Hill	House	
	James H. Houghteling	4 Houses	Astor and Goethe Sts.
	Dr. J. S. Mitchell	House	2954 Prairie Avenue
	J. W. Nolan	House and Barn	Forty-ninth & Drexel Blvd.
	Lot P. Smith	House	27 Bellevue Place
	Volney C. Turner	House and barn	Schiller St. and Lake Shore
	Thomas Templeton	House	326 Ashland Avenue
	Mrs. Alice J. Wilson	House	Davis St. and Forest Ave., Evanston
	Buena Park Station	R.R. station	Evanston and Addison Streets
	P. W. Raber	House	Grand and Oakwood Blvd.
	C. W. Needham	House	Michigan Ave. and 37th St.
	M. C. Stearns	House	Michigan Ave. and Harmon Ct.
	Henry J. Peet	House	Lake View
	Ed Sturtevant	House	
	Lawrence Maxwell, Jr.	House	
	First Presbyterian Church	Church	Lake View, Evanston
	Norman B. Ream	House	1901 Prairie Avenue
1888	Charles G. Fuller	House	Evanston
	Max A. Meyer	House	2009 Prairie Avenue
	R. S. Wheeler	House	4450 Langley Avenue
	Mrs. J. R. Pretyman	House	Edgewater
	J. C. Pennoyer	House	32d St. and Lake Park Ave.
	Un. Stock Yds. & Tr. Co.	Bank	Located in Stockyards
	Bd. of Education, Dist. No. 1	Haven School	Evanston
	Pennsylvania R.R.	Union Station	Canal Street
	Haymarket Monument		Desplaines and Randolph
	John McCarthy	Flats	State Street
	J. R. True	Store	Fullerton Ave. and Halsted
	Un. Stock Yds. & Tr. Co.	Office	In Yards
1889	Lincoln Park Sanitarium	V. F. Lawson	Lincoln Park
	T. P. Randall	House	258 Fifth Avenue
	Bd. of Education, Dist. No. 2	School	Unity and Taylor Sts.
	Reginald De Koven	House	65 Bellevue Place
	Amanda F. Farlin	House	465 N. State Street
	P. J. Kasper	House and barn	Evanston, Ill.
	I. N. W. Sherman	House and barn	363 Oakwood Blvd.
	E. H. Valentine	House and barn	Goethe and State Street
	Mrs. E. E. Springer	House	E. Division Street
	John Davis	Two houses	
	Rand, McNally Co.	Office Building	Adams and La Salle Streets
	Graham School	District No. 2	Town of Lake
	Arthur Orr	Flats	Evanston, Ill.
	Un. Stock Yds. & Tr. Co.	Office	Sun and Drovers Jrnl. Bldg.
1890	W. K. Nixon	Central Market	State and Market Streets
	First Infantry Armory		Sixteenth and Michigan
	J. Gelert	Studio	233 Oak Street



COMPOSITE OF D. H. BURNHAM'S BUILDINGS

From a drawing by Willis Polk

1. Union Station, Washington; 2. Monadnock Building, Chicago; 3. Merchants' Exchange, San Francisco; 4. The Temple, Chicago; 5. Land Title Building, Philadelphia; 6. Frick Building, Pittsburgh; 7. Flatiron Building, New York; 8. First National Bank Building, Chicago; 9. Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago; 10. Union League Club (proposed); 11. Chronicle Building, San Francisco; 12. Simmons Library, Kenosha

William G. Metzger	Mill	Eighteenth St. and Rockwell
A. L. Bell	House	5810 Washington Avenue
G. W. Brandt	House	1316 Michigan Avenue
A. H. Dainty	House	598 Dearborn Street
W. L. Brown	House	Evanston
W. J. Goudy	House and barn	Goethe and Astor Streets
C. F. Thompson, Jr.	House (Mrs. Geo. Adams)	3350 So. Park Avenue
Andrews Bldg. formerly Chicago Herald Co.	Office building	158 Washington Street
Chicago Daily News	Office building	Chicago
Masonic Temple	Office building	State and Randolph
Great Northern Hotel	Hotel	Dearborn and Jackson
William E. Hale	Observatory	4545 Drexel Blvd.

Other Cities

1888	Aberdeen, Miss.	Station	K.C. Mobile & Birmingham Ry.
1887	Atchison, Kan.		U.S. Building Co.
1885	Bar Harbor, Me.	House	Violet K. Whittaker
1882	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	House	C. B. Souther
1883	Champaign, Ill.	House	A. C. Burnham
1888	Cherokee, Kan.	Station	K. C., Ft. Scott & Mem. Ry.
1888	Cleveland, Ohio	Bank & Office bldg.	Society for Savings Bank
1885	Clinton, Mo.	Station	K. C., Clinton & Spgfd. R.R
1883	Creston, Iowa	Library	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1885	Creston, Iowa	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1884	Des Moines, Iowa	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1883	Galesburg, Ill.	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1886	Henry, Ill.	Gun-club house	S. B. Chase
1874	Hinsdale, Ill.	House	H. L. Story
1887	Howard, Ill.	Monument	Edward E. Ayer
1889	Indianapolis, Ind.	Hotel	Marion Hotel
1886	Kansas City, Mo.	Office building	American Bank Building Co.
1886	do do	Office building	Board of Trade
1886	do do	Midland Hotel	Grand Avenue Hotel Co.
1887	do do	House	James L. Lombard
1887	do do	Y. M. C. A. building	Young Men's Christian Assn.
1888	do do	Grand Ave. Station	Kansas City Belt Ry. Co.
1888	do do	House	W. C. Scarritt
1879	Kenosha, Wis.	House	Fred Newell
1885	do do	Court-house & jail	G. Z. Simmons
1890	do do	House	James J. Hoyt
1887	Kewanee, Ill.	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1887	Lawndale, Ill.	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1879	Lake Forest, Ill.	House	E. J. Warner
1889	Lakeside, Ill.	House	George Scott
1887	Marquette, Mich.	House	Julien M. Case
1885	Mendota, Ill.	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1883	Milwaukee, Wis.	House	A. McD. Young
1887	do do	Theatre and offices	Davidson & Sons
1887	do do	Warehouse No. 1	do

1888	Milwaukee, Wis.	Warehouse No. 2	Davidson & Sons
1889	Ottumwa, Iowa	Station	C., B. & Q. Ry.
1887	Peoria, Ill.	Bank	Dime Savings Bank
1888	do do	Office building	Chamber of Commerce
1887	Peru, Ind.	Bank	First National Bank
1889	San Francisco, Cal.	Office building	Chronicle Building
1890	do do	Office building	Mills Building
1880	St. Louis, Mo.	House	M. M. Farr
1880	do do	House	John Whittaker
1882	do do	House	W. B. Farr
1887	do do	Hotel St. Louis	Thos. Cullyford
1889	Tacoma, Washington	Bank	Pacific National Bank
1890	do do	Bank & office bldg.	Fidelity Trust Co.
1883	Topeka, Kansas	Office building	A., T. & S. Fé Ry.
1876	Valparaiso, Indiana	House	Don A. Solyer
1874	Washington Heights, Ill.		Washington Heights Female Academy

D

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS DESIGNED BY D. H. BURNHAM

CHICAGO

1891	World's Columbian Exposition		Jackson Park Building
	Ashland Block, 1st Sect.	Office building	Clark and Randolph
	Kearsarge Building	Offices	Jackson and Dearborn
	Monadnock Building, 1st Sect.	Offices	Jackson and Dearborn
	Woman's Temple	Office building	La Salle and Monroe
	John B. Sherman	Monument	Oakwoods Cemetery
	St. Gabriel's Convent (addition)		45th and Wallace
1892	James W. Ellsworth	House and stable	Michigan Avenue
	Judge A. N. Waterman	House	Groveland Park
	Immanuel Presbyterian Church	Church	31st and Bonfield
	M. J. Dorney	Perkins Flats	46th and St. Lawrence
	George Adams	House	
	U.S. Yds. & Trans. Company	Dexter Park Horse Exchange	
	Noyes Street School	District No. 1	Evanston
	Marshall Field & Co.	Old Annex	Washington and Wabash
	Wm. L. Brown and H. P. Post	Double house	Evanston
	S. E. Gross	Stable	Chicago — Stone St.
1893	A. C. Farlin	House	
	P. J. Casper	House	
	Gen. John A. Logan Monument	Base	Michigan Avenue
	A. F. Gibson	Fence	
	Willoughby Hill & Co.	Peacock Café. Boston Oyster House	114 Madison Street
	Cluett Coon & Co.	Pavilion	World's Fair Grounds
1894	First Presbyterian Church	Church	Evanston
	District No. 1	Crain St. School	Evanston
	Emmanuel M.E. Church		
	Majestic Hotel		Quincy Street
	Chas. H. Schwab	House and barn	33d and Michigan
	W. E. Hale	Reliance Bldg.	State and Washington
	Charles Deering	Residence and boathouse	Evanston
	Fisher Building	Offices	Van Buren and Dearborn
	Great Northern	Theatre & Office	Jackson Boulevard

Other Cities

1894	Atchison, Kansas	Bank	Atchison Bank
1891	Atlanta, Georgia	Offices	Equitable Bldg.
1891	Beloit, Wisconsin		Science Hall, Beloit College
1892	Buffalo, N.Y.	Offices	Ellicott Square Building
1894	do do		Ellicott Club
1892	Burlington, Iowa	Station	C.B. & Q. Ry. Co.
1891	Cleveland, Ohio		Western Reserve Bldg. (Samuel Mather)
		Offices	
1892	do do	Offices	Cuyahoga Bldg.
1894	Columbus, Ohio		Wyandotte Bldg. (John G. Deshler)
		Offices	
1893	Detroit, Michigan	Offices	Majestic Building
1892	Lake Geneva, Wis.	House	John C. Hately
1891	La Porte, Indiana		La Porte County Commrs.
1892	Louisville, Ky.	Hotel	Galt House
1894	Tipton, Indiana	Bank	Tipton Bank

E

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS DESIGNED BY D. H. BURNHAM & COMPANY

CHICAGO

1896	Silversmith Building	Offices	Wabash Ave.
	Quadrangle Club	Univ. of Chicago	
	Edw. & Sara J. Phillips	Warehouse	Jefferson bet. Monroe & Adams
	Ill. Trust and Savings	Bank	La Salle and Jackson
	Theodore Thomas	Studio	
	South Side Elev. Ry. Co.	Power house	Forty-Ninth St.
1898	A. W. Green	House	4939 Greenwood Ave.
	Reid, Murdoch & Co.	Warehouse	Lake and Market Sts.
	Hinman Avenue School	District No. 1	Evanston
1899	Northwestern University	Fisk Hall	Evanston
1900	Merchants Loan & Trust	Bank and office	Adams and Clark
	F. A. Hardy	Lord Owen Bldg.	221–223 Randolph St.
	Ritchie Building	Factory	Van Buren and Green
	Otis Elevator Co.	Plant	Laflin Street
	Chicago Telephone Co.	Chicago Ave. Station	
		Lake View Station	
		Seeley Avenue Station	
		Stock Yards Station	
		Englewood Station	
	Northwestern University	Fur. Exposition	Michigan at 13th St.
	Marshall Field & Co.	Warehouse	Jackson Street
1902	Booth Fisheries	Cold Storage Warehouse	Kinzie Street
	Marshall Field & Co.	North State St. Store	State and Randolph
	James B. Forgan	Stable	
	Marshall Field & Co.	Power plant	Wholesale store
1903	Railway Exchange	Office building	Jackson and Michigan
	Union League Addition	Club	Chicago
	First National Bank	Bank and offices	Dearborn and Monroe
	Heyworth Building	Offices	Wabash and Madison
	Pittsburgh Plate Glass	Warehouse	St. Clair Street
	South Park Commissioners	Marquette Park	Seventy-Seventh and California
		Mark White Square	Twenty-Ninth and Halsted
		Armour Square	Twenty-Third and Princeton
		Cornell Square	Fifty-First and Wood
		Russell Square	Eighty-Third and Bond
		Sherman Park	Fifty-Fifth and Center
		Ogden Park	Sixty-Seventh and Center
		Hamilton Square	Seventy-Second and Stewart
		Bessemer Park	Eighty-Ninth and So. Chicago
		Palmer Park	113th and South
		Davis Square	Forty-Fourth and Marshfield

1904	Marshall Field & Co.	Warehouse	Polk and Ellsworth
1905	Marshall Field & Co.	Warehouse	"River"
	Orchestra Hall	Theatre	Michigan Avenue
	Edison Building	Office	Adams and Clark
	Marshall Field & Co.	Department Store	Wabash Avenue
	Marshall Field & Co.	Department Store	South State St. Building
1907	Vermont Marble Co.	Factory	404 E. North Water
1908	Commonwealth Edison	Power Plant	Groove Street
1910	F. J. V. Skiff	House	Winnetka
	Peoples Gas Building	Offices	Michigan and Adams
	W. Giertsen	Machinery Exchange	1219 Washington Blvd.
	Jos. Chamberlain	Loft Building	325 So. Market St.
	Davis Mfg. Co.	Factory	Aberdeen and Van Buren
	Crane Co.	Corwith Plant	South Kedzie Ave.
	South Park Commissioners	Fuller Park	Forty-Sixth and Princeton
		Administration Bldg.	Washington Park
		Propagating House	Marquette Park
	Illinois Tunnel Co.	39th St. Station	Monroe and Paulina
1911	Insurance Exchange	Offices	Jackson and Wells
	South Park Commissioners	Sunken Garden	
		Washington Park	
		Sidewalk and Island lamp-posts	Michigan Avenue
1912	Marshall Field & Co.	Conway Building	Clark and Washington
	Estate of Marshall Field	Retail Store	North Wabash Ave.
	Chas. A. Stevens & Bros.	Department Store	State Street
	Field Museum	Museum	Grant Park
	W. D. Boyce	Publishing Bldg.	Dearborn and Illinois
	Otis Elevator Co.	Offices	600 W. Jackson Blvd.
	South Park Commissioners	Hardin Square	Twenty-Fifth and Wentworth
	Society Brand Building	Loft	416 S. Franklin
	Hill Building	Loft	West Van Buren
	Continental and Commercial National Bank	Bank and office	Adams and La Salle Sts.
	Marshall Field & Co.	Men's Annex	Wabash and Washington
	Butler Brothers	Warehouse	Canal Street
	Goddard Building	Office	Monroe and Wabash

Other Cities

1900	Baltimore, Md.	Bank and office	Continental Trust Co.
1912	Boston, Mass.	Department Store	Wm. Filene's Sons Co.
1909	Cedar Rapids, Ia.	Bank	Cedar Rapids Natl. Bank
1907	Chevy Chase, Md.	House	Henry C. Corbin
1900	Cincinnati, Ohio	Bank and Office	Union Savings & Trust Co.
1902	do do	Office	Cincinnati Traction Co.
1902	do do	Bank	Fifth National Bank
1903	do do	Bank and office	First National Bank
1905	do do		Schmidlapp Library
1907	do do	Bank and office	Fourth National Bank
1908	do do	Dept. Store addition	Alms & Doepke
1913	do do	Retail Store	Shillito Building

1896	Cleveland, Ohio	Station	Lake Shore & M. S. Ry.
1902	do do	Station	Pennsylvania Ry.
1912	do do	Department Store	The May Company
1896	Columbus, Ohio	Union Station	P. C. C. & St. L. Ry.
1897	do do	Offices	Spahr Building
1910	do do	Station	Interurban Terminal
1906	Danville, Ill.	Freight House	C. & E. I. R.R.
1910	Davenport, Iowa	Offices	Putnam Building
1909	Des Moines, Iowa	Offices	Fleming Building
1908	Detroit, Michigan	Offices	Ford Building
1910	do do	Bank and offices	Dime Savings Bank
1909	Duluth, Minnesota	Offices	Board of Trade
1909	do do		St. Louis Co. Court House
1910	do do	Offices	Alworth Building
1904	El Paso, Texas		Union Station
1907	Evansville, Ind.	Station	E. & T. H. Ry.
1911	Fort Smith, Ark.	Union Station	K. C. So. Ry.
1900	Grand Rapids, Mich.	Union Station	G. R. & I. Ry.
1909	Houston, Texas	Office	Scanlan Building
1910	do do	Warehouse	Scanlan Estate
1911	Hutchinson, Kan.	Office Building	First National Bank
1903	Indianapolis, Ind.	Office Bldg. and Inter. Station	Indianapolis Traction
1907	do do	Bank and office	Merchants' National Bank
1903	Joliet, Illinois		Public Library
1911	Kansas City, Mo.	Offices	Waldheim Building
1899	Kenosha, Wis.		Simmons Memorial Library
1906	London, England	Department Store	Selfridge Store
1912	Louisville, Ky.	Office	Starks Building
1908	Manila, P.I.	House	W. Cameron Forbes
1904	Memphis, Tennessee	Bank and office	Bank of Com. & Trust Co.
1903	Milwaukee, Wis.	Dept. Store Addition	Gimbel Bros.
1912	do do	Bank and offices	First Wis. Natl. Bank
1910	Monticello, Indiana	Factory	Chicago Thread Mfg. Co.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	Ill. Commrs. Tenn. Ex.	Administration Bldg.
1903	New Orleans, La.	Bank and offices	Hibernia Bank
1908	do do	Frisco Ry. Co.	New Orleans Term. Sta.
1901	New York City	Office	Flatiron Building
1903	do	Department Store	John Wanamaker
1909	do	Department Store	Gimbel Brothers
1910	do	Hotel	Hotel Claridge
1911	do	Office building	80 Maiden Lane
1912	do	Office building	New York Edison
1910	Oshkosh, Wisconsin	Bank	Old Comrcl. Natl. Bank
1909	Pasadena, Cal.	Observatory	Mt. Wilson Observatory
1902	Petoskey, Michigan	Station	G. R. & I. Ry. Co.
1897	Philadelphia, Pa.	Office	Land Title Building
1909	do do	Department Store	John Wanamaker
1898	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Bank	Union Trust Company
1901	do do	Office	Frick Building
1903	do do	Department Store	The McCreery Store
1901	do do		West Penna. Expo. Society

1901	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Newspaper plant	Commercial Gazette
1902	do do	Wood St. Building	Henry W. Oliver
1903	do do	Virgin Ave. Building	Henry W. Oliver
1903	do do	Stewart Building	Henry W. Oliver
1904	do do	Bank	Third National Bank
1905	do do	Office building	Frick Annex
1906	do do	Liberty Ave. Building	Henry W. Oliver
1906	do do	Oliver Ave. Building	Henry W. Oliver
1908	do do	Monument	R. Trimble
1908	do do	Office Building	Oliver Building
1910	do do	do do (H. C. Frick)	Highland Building
1911	do do	Bank and office bldg.	First National Bank
1910	Portland, Oregon	Warehouse No. 2	Marshall Wells Hardware Co.
1898	Quincy, Illinois	Station	C. B. & Q. Ry.
1899	Red Oak, Iowa	Bank	Red Oak National Bank
1902	Richmond, Ind.	Station	P. C. C. & St. L. R.R.
1911	Rock Island, Ill.	Bank	Rock Island Savings Bank
1903	San Francisco, Cal.	Office building	Merchants' Exchange
1903	do	Bank rooms	American National Bank
1905	do	Office	Mills Building Annex
1907	do	Office building	San Francisco Chronicle
1908	do	Bank & office bldg.	First National Bank
1909	Sioux Falls, S.D.	Bank	Sioux Falls Savings Bank
1910	Spokane, Wash.	Bank & office bldg.	Old National Bank
1899	Suffolk, Conn.	Library	Kent Memorial Library
1912	Terre Haute, Ind.	Interurban Sta.	Arcade Building
1894	Toledo, Ohio	Power house	Toledo Traction Co.
1912	do	Bank & office bldg.	Second National Bank
1903	Uniontown, Pa.	Bank	First National Bank
1908	Washington, D.C.		Union Station
1910	do do	Office	Southern Building
1910	do do		Union Station Plaza Improvements
1911	do do		Columbus Monument, Union Station Plaza
1911	do do		Post Office
1910	Waterloo, Iowa	Bank and office bldg.	Black Hawk National Bank
1912	Wilkes Barre, Pa.	Bank & office bldg.	Miners Bank
1899	Youngstown, Ohio	Office building	Federal Building
1907	do	Office building	Wick Building

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO

From a drawing by Willis Polk

1. Merchants' Exchange
2. D. O. Mills Building
3. First National Bank
4. Chronicle Building

F

CITY PLANS

1902 City of Washington, D.C.
1903 City of Cleveland, Ohio
1904 City of San Francisco, Cal.
1905 City of Manila, Philippine Islands
1905 City of Baguio, Philippine Islands
1908 City of Chicago, Illinois

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